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MAT IMPRESSIONS ON POT BASES

By G. M. CROWFOOT

WITH PLATES I-IV

THE impressions of mats on the bases of pots from the chalcolithic period in Palestine are of interest to students of two crafts, pot-making and basketry. To the former they are specially interesting because there are potters to-day in Palestine who still use mats in their craft, and the evidence about the basketry is valuable because all the mats and basketry of the period there have long since perished away.

The Impressions. Mat impressions have been found now on three sites in Palestine: Jericho (Level VIII), Teleilat Ghassul and Wady Ghazza. These are of both coiled and twilled work, but by far the commonest form is the imprint of a circular mat in coiled work. At Jericho Dr. Ben-Dor says: 'The characteristic feature of the chalcolithic base is the impression of a circular mat on its bottom. . . . Sometimes we may recognise just faint signs of it, but its presence is ubiquitous, and only in a limited number of cases the base is quite smooth, without a trace of impression. The mat impression is even present on the bottom of the holed pedestals.'¹

At Teleilat Ghassul, similarly, a great number of various kinds of impressions were found, but those of coiled mats predominated, especially in Levels I and II.²

At Wady Ghazza, impressions of coiled mats were present in all the Wady sites, and were the only type in some, *e.g.* site D.³

Impressions showing twilled mats were also found at all three sites; they were especially abundant at Ghassul in Level III, present at Wady Ghazza only in sites E and O, while two examples came from Jericho, one being of a rather different type from the rest.

Photographs showing three pot bases and plasticine impressions of four others are to be seen on Pl. I, and attempts at restoration of weaves used on Pl. IV. Before discussing the latter it will be well to deal first

1 J. Garstang, *Annals*, Vol. XXIII, Pl. XXXII, 33 B; Pl. XLII, 33 A; p. 87. (For discussion on dating see p. 90. Level VIII is believed to be later than Ghassul.)

2 A. Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassul*, Pl. 39, Fig. 40, pp. 91 and 92.

3 McDonald, *Beth Pelet*, II, Prehistoric Fara, Pl. XXXIV, p. 5.

with the pottery itself and the way in which the impressions on it were probably made.

The Pots. The mat impressions that we are discussing are all on the base, and therefore are not accidental but have come from the use of a mat during the making. There are two possibilities: either the pot was made on a mat and left to dry on it, or the pot was set to dry on a mat after it was made. The same alternatives were fully discussed in the case of the mat impressions of Phylakopi.¹

A great many which were found there on the bases of geometric ware evidently came from large circular mats in wicker-work. Professor Myres had suggested that the mat had been used as a sort of wheel on which the vessel could be revolved. Mr. Edgar, however, pointed out that only a small mat could be used for the purpose, while some of the prints showed mats of a considerable diameter on which the vases had been set down far from the centre. Some also showed prints of two different mats. He therefore concluded that the vases were not made upon mats but were set on them to dry before being put in the kiln.

We have a somewhat similar problem in our twilled impressions, for they also probably represent parts of large mats which could not be turned round while the pots were being made. But in pre-wheel pot-making there is an advantage in using a mat to raise the pot from the bare ground whether the mat can be moved round or not. Our impressions are so clear and so free from blurring and double prints that they may well have been caused during the making rather than merely during the drying, but there is not enough evidence to prove either theory.

In the case of the coiled mat impressions, on the other hand, it seems quite certain from the character of the impressions that the pots were made on the mats. In the Jericho pieces the impressions are very clear and show no double prints, and the centre of the mat is always at or near to the centre of the pot base, as it should be if the pot had been made on the mat. At Ghassul Père Mallon observed: ' Dans le cas de la spirale le potier a toujours pris soin de faire coïncider le centre de celle-ci avec le centre du fond du vase. On pourrait en déduire que ces petits supports avaient été faits à dessein pour faciliter le travail de l'ouvrier. . . .' How it may facilitate the work of the potter can be understood by seeing how pots are made to-day in Palestine on round coiled mats. The impressions left on the modern pots after baking

1. C. C. Edgar, 'Phylakopi in Melos,' *S.P.H.S.*, 4, MDCCIV, Pl. VI, p. 94.

are exactly like the ancient ones and offer the strongest evidence that the mat impressions on the chalcolithic ware were caused in the same way.

MODERN USE OF THE MAT IN POT-MAKING

Instances of the use of a mat have been noted in Palestine, at Ramallah, north of Jerusalem, Awarta and Sinjil, south of Nablus, and Yābed, west of Jenin. At Ramallah and Sinjil the large painted water-jars are built up by hand and are often set on round coiled mats during the making, but the mats are not moved except in the initial stages—the potter instead walks round the pot when necessary. At Awarta and Yābed, in the case of smaller ware, the round coiled mat on which the pot is set is moved occasionally, as required, throughout the making. The mat cannot be revolved like a tournette, or moved rapidly by hand, but even so it is a great convenience to the potter to be able to change the position of the pot without touching or lifting it.

The Pottery of Yābed, near Jenin. The pottery making of Yābed is so archaic that it may be worth while to give a more detailed account than would suffice merely to explain the mat impression.

My attention was first drawn to this village by Aref Assad of Sebastia, who went to visit it at my request and returned with the information that these people decorated their ware with red slip, burnished 'like the pottery of the Israelites which we find in the soil of Sebastia,' and that further (and this he regarded as an even greater curiosity) they did not use clay for their pots like other folk, but instead used the marl (howwar) which is only proper for sunbaked ware. Fired by this account, my husband and I went with Mr. J. H. Iliffe in the spring of 1935 to visit Yābed and were fortunate enough to find some work in progress.

The pottery is all made by women, by hand, and baked in an open kiln.

The clay is really a marl¹ and has to be soaked before use. It is mixed with crushed potsherds for most of the ware made, but in the case of cooking-pots, crushed crystalline calcite ground fine as flour is used instead of the potsherds.

We watched the making of a foot-bath (*Wada*) such as is used in

1. The following report was kindly given to me by Mr. Spiller, of Oxford, on three samples of material used at Yābed :—

- i. 'Howwar,' used for making pottery. Marl. Contains CaCO_3 but no quartz grains.
- ii. 'Howwar,' yellow, used for making slip. Marl. Contains CaCO_3 but no quartz grains.
- iii. Dark red earth used for slip. Iron-stained sandy clay. Contains many quartz grains but very little CaCO_3 .

many places in Palestine for the ritual washing of feet at prayer time, especially by women.¹ The potter took a lump of the clay, which had been prepared and mixed the day before, and put it on the middle of a round coiled mat as seen in Pl. II). After centering and opening the clay she built the walls, drawing them up between her hands and adding small pieces as required. The mat was moved round when the potter wished to give attention to another aspect of the pot. In this movement of the mat, short and discontinuous as it is, one may see, fossilized, one of the early steps in the evolution of the wheel. At a later stage the small mat was placed on a larger one, as being easier to handle when the bath had attained its full width; this is shown in Pl. II, 2, where the potter is seen giving the finishing touches to the central support. When finished, the bath was not moved from the mat but left to dry on it and the impression persists after the baking. Pl. III, 2, shows the impression on the base of a large wash-bowl (*siftl*) purchased there. This bowl, as other pots we saw, is decorated with a red slip and burnished. The red slip was made from a red clay said to come from a valley some distance away, but sometimes an inferior substitute, a yellow marl, which only gives a brownish shade when baked, is used instead.

The burnishing is done with a smooth cockle shell (*zellafi*) when the pot is leather-hard. On the better pieces, particularly on the rims, the burnishing was so good as to be continuous, but much of that we saw was rather perfunctory, a maze of criss-cross strokes. On Pl. II, 3, the potter is seen polishing up the round base of the plate (*mikla*) which is used chiefly to serve eggs in; this example had two handles, but others that we saw had only knobs and looked most archaic.

Besides the foot-bath, large bowl and plate already mentioned, these potters make a round-bottomed cooking-pot (*qidri*), a brazier (*kanūn*) often decorated with knobs on the rim, a sieve (*gasriya*), and a water-jar (*zir*) which looks for all the world like an ancient 'hole mouth.' Not all these types have the mat impression on the base. Sometimes, instead of the mat, a disk of wood is used which leaves little mark; cooking-pots and plates also have their bases rounded and trimmed by shaving when leather-hard. The large bowl, Pl. II, 1, is interesting for two reasons: it would seem to be the successor in daily life of the large four-handled bowl so common in the Iron Age,² and its name, *siftl*, as Dr.

1. In some places the foot-bath is called *Umm Sala*, i.e. 'Mother of prayer.'

2. W. F. Albright, *T.B.M.*, A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XII, 1930-1931, Pl. 60. (Judges vi, 38; v, 25.)

Sukenik first pointed out to me, is similar to the Hebrew *sēphel*, a name used both for the 'bowl' full of water in which Gideon had 'wringed the dew out of the fleece' and for the 'lordly dish' which Jael brought to Sisera.¹

The pots are baked in an open kiln with a fuel of dung as seen in Pl. II, 4. The fire has died down and the potter is seen fishing for her wares in the hot ashes, after a judicious tapping with the end of the stick, as an English cook might tap a hot cake with the nail, to make sure that they are really well baked.

THE TECHNIQUE OF THE MATS

1. *Circular Mats in Coiled Work*. Four examples are shown on Pl. I, 1-4.

These and all the examples of coiled work from Jericho and Ghassul that I have examined are in the same technique—simple oversewn coil. The coil appears to be made of several fine strands, and each stitch passes over the new portion of the foundation coil and pierces a portion of the coil below. There are many variations in the quality and size of the stitching. Jericho, Pl. I, 3, shows the finest work seen; the stitches are not very close together, and yet they count about sixteen to the inch. In this and some others of the Jericho pieces the centre appears to have been made with several long radiating stitches, and a restoration of such a centre, rather exaggerated in size, is shown on Pl. IV, no. 1 a. In others and in the Ghassul pieces examined, the centre appears to be of a type more usual both in ancient and modern work, in which the coil begins at the centre, as shown in Pl. IV, no. 1 b.

The Ghassul piece, Pl. I, 4, and Pl. IV, 2, shows the coarsest stitching seen, and probably came from a large platter; the small portion given by the impression has a diameter of about 16 cm.

Comparisons, Ancient. This class of coiled work, in which every stitch pierces the coil, is that used in Ancient Egypt from Badarian times onward.² In the Predynastic examples the coil begins at the centre, and this is the common type all through; the centre with radiating stitches

1. Mr. S. Hillelson has kindly given me the following information regarding the word *sifl*. 'There is no evidence for "*sifl*" in literary Arabic, but a mediaeval Christian writer uses it of a dish in which the remains of food were kept, and the word also occurs in Judaeo-Arabic writers; as there is no derivation for it in Arabic it may be assumed that it is a loan-word borrowed from Hebrew or Aramaic; it is interesting to find that it survives in the colloquial of Palestine.'

2. G. Brunton and G. Caton Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*. For Predynastic examples see Pl. LX, 13, and p. 63. For Badarian examples see Pl. LXI, 5, and p. 67.

is seen on the lids of New Empire baskets. It is present on the lid of a little basket in my own possession believed to be of the XIXth dynasty.

Some of the finest of the American Indian baskets were also made in this class of coiled work.

Comparisons, Modern. Fine work in this sort is to be seen to-day in Upper Egypt, the Sudan, and other parts of Africa. It is a very good method technically, capable of giving good decorative effects in colour, and the products are very strong and durable. I have seen coiled baskets in Kordofan so finely woven that they would hold water—they were in point of fact used for carrying milk! The stitches on the Jericho examples seem too much spaced to have achieved this ideal, but they are mats, not baskets, and very well made for the purpose.

In Palestine to-day there is much coiled work to be seen. Probably the closest resemblance would be with the basketry of the Yemenite Jews who brought their craft with them from Arabia and who practise very close stitching, using for material both reeds and palm leaf. Close stitching can also be occasionally seen in Palestine Arab work, but more commonly the strand is wound round the coil two or more times before stitching it through. This makes an open kind of weave, as can readily be seen on holding it up to the light; it is more quickly worked and can be adapted for pleasant decorative effects in the stitching itself, but is not so strong and durable as the close-stitched kind. Many different baskets are made, as well as circular mats, large and small; the usual material is wheat straw, which is beautiful in its natural state and readily takes a dye when colour is desired. The small round coiled mats (*tabaq*) seen under the Yâbed pots were not specially made for this purpose. Such mats are in every house and are used in many ways and only the old ones descend to being pot supports.

The nearest modern equivalent that I know to the coarsely stitched piece from Ghassul is the large coiled palm-basket made at El Arish, of which occasional examples find their way into the Jerusalem market.

The Tool. The tool appropriate for coiled basketry is the awl, a metal point with wooden handle. With this a hole is pierced through the coil and then the sharpened end of the binding strand—reed, palm, or wheat straw, etc.—is pushed through the hole. Sometimes nowadays a needle is used, but I have never seen this in any serious work, always the awl. What, then, was the tool used in chalcolithic days? A tool there must have been; twilled mats can be worked with the bare hands,

but not the coil. A wooden point would serve the purpose, but better still a bone one. Abundance of bone points came up in the excavations at Jericho¹ and also at Ghassul,² and they may have served for the making of coiled mats as well as for many another useful purpose.

2. *Twilled Mats.* In twilled work a diagonal appearance is given to a fabric by passing the wefts over and under a given number of warps in a succession instead of regularly over one and under one as in plain weave. Mats made in this way are often spoken of as in 'herring-bone' weave.

Impressions of twilled work were found on all three sites showing mats in which warp and weft are single strands; the only exception is one of the Jericho pieces in which warp and weft are bundles of strands. In the Wady-Ghazza pieces the weft passes under and over three warps, as seen in the example on Pl. I, 6; at Teleilat Ghassul most of the examples were similar to this and a restoration of one is shown on Pl. IV, 3. In one piece, the plasticine impression of which is shown on Pl. I, fig. 7, the weft crosses in some places three warps, in others four. It is not certain whether some more elaborate weave was being attempted or whether the weaver was making a few mistakes. In one of the Jericho pieces, that with single strands, the weave appears to be over 3 and under 3, but in that with multiple strands the weave is over 2 and under 2.³

Comparisons. The only example that I can find from ancient days to compare with the twilled mat impressions are the twilled mats seen in impressions from the Hall of Mats at Mishrife Qatna in Syria.⁴ In our times twilled work is seen chiefly in those parts of the world where cane abounds; there is much in America. I do not know of any mats made in this way in Palestine or Syria, but the ordinary expedition basket (*quffa*) has a strong resemblance to the Jericho twill, for in both bundles of rushes are used for warp and weft.

3. *Material.* Some of the impressions were so clear and showed so plainly traces of ribbing or veining that they raised hopes that it might be possible to identify the actual vegetable material used. Through the kindness of Dr. Eig and members of the Botanical Department of the Hebrew University comparisons were made between specimens in the

1. J. Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

2. A. Mallon, *op. cit.*, Figs. 30-31, p. 77.

3. It is probable that the mats were woven, but there are other ways of producing twill such as plaiting in the piece, or by joining plaits together. None of the impressions show a border, so the actual method used cannot be certain.

4. Le Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Fouilles*, etc., Pl. 15, fig. 2. *Syria*, vol. 9, 1928.

Herbarium and certain of the mat impressions. Plasticine impressions of reeds, grasses, and palm leaf were made and compared with the marks on the pot bases, and conversely, plasticine impressions of the pot bases were compared with the actual reeds, grasses, etc.

The results of the enquiry are as follows :—

Coiled Mats. Though the impressions of coiled work are clear enough to identify technically, they are not very clean, and it is difficult to see the lines or veins on the strands. In the case of the Jericho pieces the material is not likely to have been wheat straw, for that gives a very sharply cut print with fine lines. Nor can it have been palm leaf for then the lines would be very strong and regular. Probably in some cases the rush *Juncus acutus* L. common in the Jordan valley was used, in others some stiff grass, possibly Halfa.

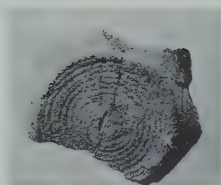
The Ghassul piece, Pl. I, 4, is peculiarly disappointing in this respect ; the wrapping strands are very clear and suggest either palm leaf or *Typha* (bulrush), but there is not a trace of a line, strong or fine, to distinguish which.

Twilled Mats. In all the three twilled impressions, two from Ghassul and one from Jericho, that we were able to subject to this test we succeeded in establishing the probable material used, and a similarly successful result was attained with a further one from Wady Ghazza examined later. The results are as follows :—

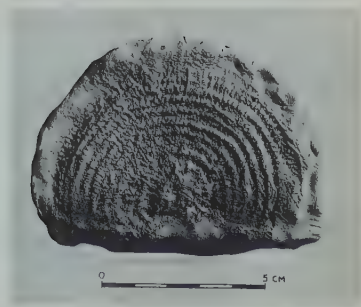
Place.	Specimen.	Strand.	Probable Material.
Teleilat Ghassul.	Pl. I, 7.	Single Reed.	<i>Scirpus lacustris</i> L., a favourite basket sedge in Europe as well as in Palestine.
Teleilat Ghassul.	Pl. IV, 3.	Single Reed.	<i>Typha angustata</i> B. et Ch., the bulrush so popular in Syria for mats, baskets and chair seats at the present day.
Wady Ghazza.	Pl. I, 6.	Single Reed.	<i>Scirpus littoralis</i> Schrad., often used to-day.
Jericho.	J. 30. H. 4, 9. Not figured.	Single Reed.	<i>Scirpus</i> sp., possibly <i>S. littoralis</i> , but the fragment showing impression is very small.
Jericho.	Pl. I, 5.	Bundle of rushes.	<i>Juncus acutus</i> L. = <i>J. maritimus</i> Lam., often used to-day.



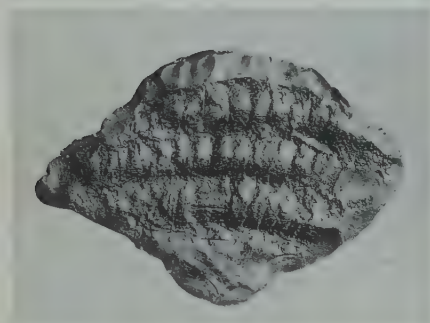
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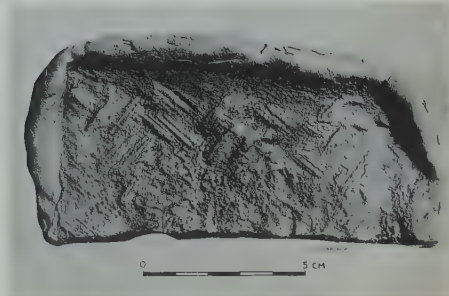
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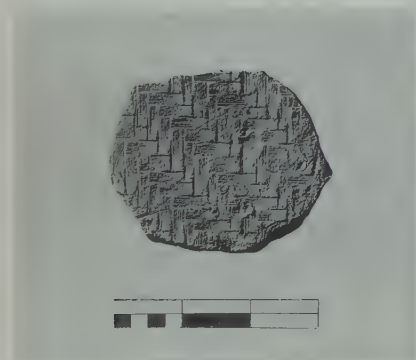
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4



5



6



7

MAT IMPRESSIONS ON POT BASES.

- 1.—IMPRESSION OF COILED MAT, JERICHO. Published in *Annals*, 1936. Pl. XXXII, 33 B.
- 2.—IMPRESSION OF COILED MAT, JERICHO. Published in *Annals*, 1936. Pl. XLII, b, 33 A.
- 3.—PLASTICINE IMPRESSION, COILED MAT, JERICHO. Original in Palestine Museum.
- 4.—PLASTICINE IMPRESSION, COILED MAT, TELEILAT GHASSUL. Original at Institut Pontifical, Jerusalem.
- 5.—PLASTICINE IMPRESSION, TWILLED MAT, JERICHO. Published in *Annals*, 1936. Pl. LV, a.
- 6.—IMPRESSION OF TWILLED MAT, WADY GHAZZA, SITE O. Published in *Beth Pelet*, II. Pl. XXXIV, 12.
- 7.—PLASTICINE IMPRESSION, TWILLED MAT, Published in *Teleilat Ghassul*, Pl. 39, 1.



1



2



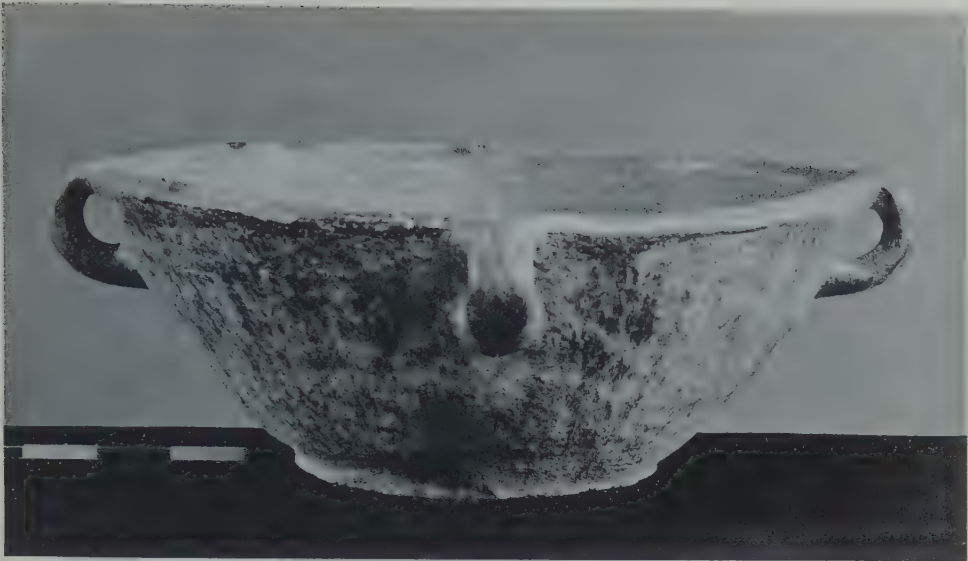
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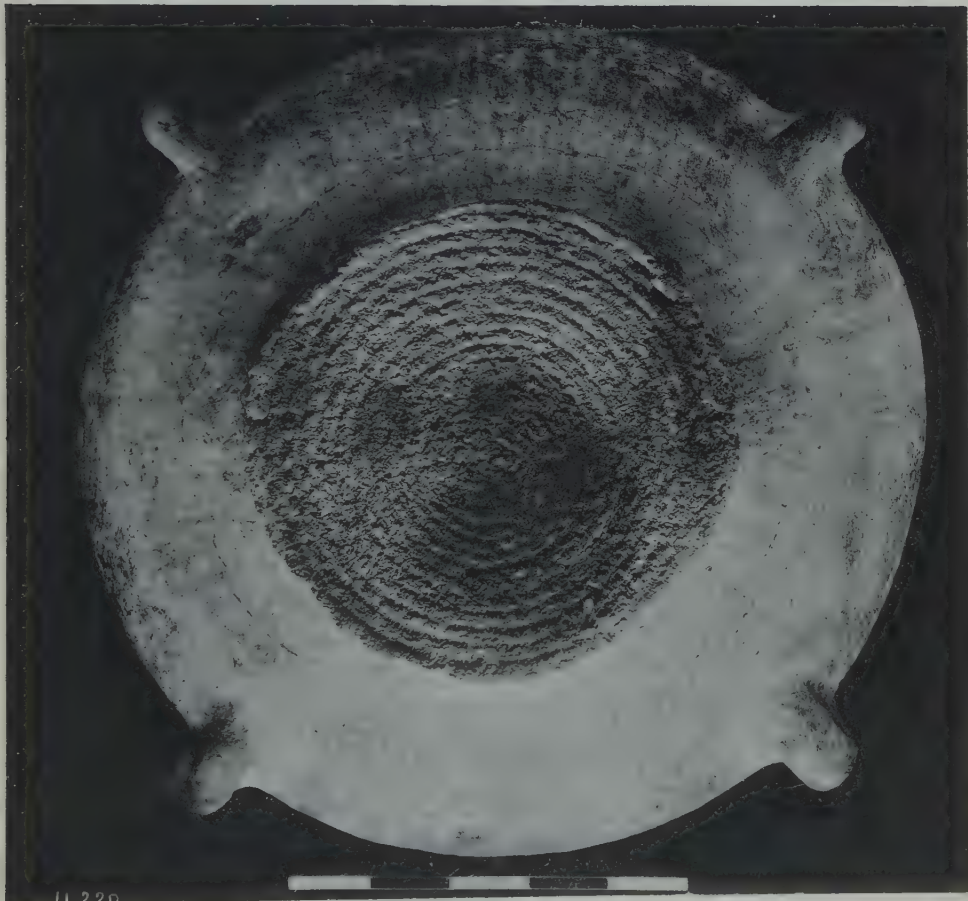
4

YĀBED.

- 1.—MAKING THE FOOTBATH ON A MAT.
- 2.—PUTTING FINISHING TOUCHES TO THE CENTRAL SUPPORT.
- 3.—BURNISHING PLATE WITH A SHELL.
- 4.—THE OPEN KILN.



1



2

YĀBED.

1.—THE LARGE WASHING BOWL (SIFL).

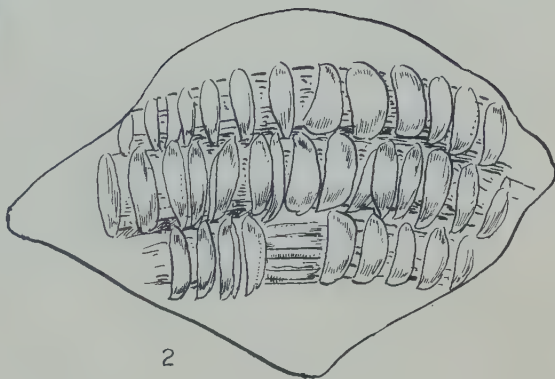
2.—IMPRESSION OF THE COILED MAT ON BASE OF THE WASHING BOWL.



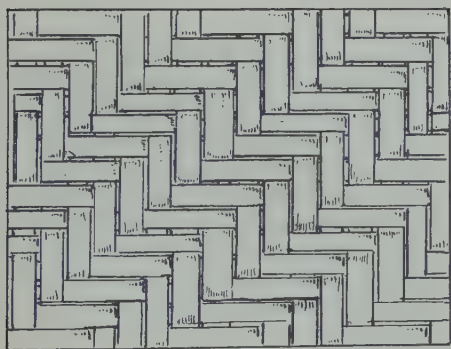
1A.



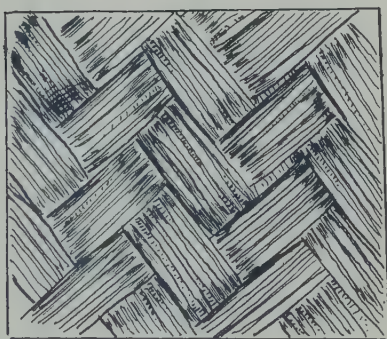
1B.



2



3



4

RESTORATION OF WEAVES

- 1A. JERICO. FINE COILED MAT SHOWING CENTRE WITH RADIATING STITCHES
- 1B. JERICO. MAT SHOWING CENTRE WITH COIL
2. TELEILAT GHASSUL. LARGE COILED MAT
3. TELEILAT GHASSUL. TWILLED MAT WITH STRANDS OF SINGLE REEDS
4. JERICO. TWILLED MAT WITH STRANDS OF A BUNDLE OF RUSHES

The identification of the Jericho specimen is interesting because this variety of the Hard Rush is common in the Jordan Valley. The Arabic name for it there is Dis, though in other parts of Palestine it is called, as are so many other kinds of rushes, *Şamr* or *Şammur*. The village of Abu Dis near Bethany owes its name to this rush, which is used there to-day for making mats, not by hand, however, like the mats of the impressions, but in plain weave on a simple ground loom.

Conclusion. Already the chalcolithic period people had skill in coiled basketry and twilled mat work, and, in those instances where some degree of certainty can be attained, were using as material the reeds and rushes still harvested in the marshes and riversides of Palestine for the making of mats and baskets to-day.

My thanks are due to Professor Garstang for allowing me to examine his specimens at Jericho ; to the Institut Pontifical who lent their specimens for comparison with the Jericho pieces ; to the Hebrew University for assistance given in the Botanical Department ; to the Institute of Archaeology (London) for permission to publish the photograph of the specimen from Wady Ghazza ; and to the Palestine Museum for permission to publish the photograph of the bowl from Yābed.

EXPLORATIONS IN CILICIA

THE NEILSON EXPEDITION : PRELIMINARY REPORT II

(Concluded)

BY JOHN GARSTANG

WITH PLATES V-XVII

DURING the winter of 1936-37 we were privileged by the Turkish Government to make investigations on a number of sites in the Cilician plain, in collaboration with, and ably supported by, the Director of the Museum at Adana. In amplification of the notes on Kazanlı Hüyük and Sirkeli which appeared on page 64 of the first part of this report (*Annals*, XXIV), we now proceed to a more detailed description of our investigations on these two sites. In the meanwhile, it should be said, a full season's excavations on the mound at Mersin (*ibid.*, p. 62) has provided us with a stratified series of Cilician-Hittite pottery of the early Imperial and pre-Imperial periods. We are therefore able to omit from this report all discussion of details and to confine our account to observations illustrating the stratigraphy of these mounds in the light of more recent results. It may be added here, for information of archaeologists contemplating further work upon these sites, that more materials exist than are here described: they will be found classified and arranged for study in the Adana Museum.

KAZANLI HÜYÜK (Pls. V-XIII)

Kazanlı Hüyük rises from the plain between Mersin and Tarsus, about two kilometres from the sea. Though only some 12 m. high it is conspicuous from afar. On the west face four discontinuous cuttings were made at successive heights, in effect replacing a continuous cutting by four separate parallel ones. These are marked A, B, C, D respectively in the Sketch Plan on Plate V. For technical reasons (rapid disposal of débris and avoidance of accidents) each trench was slanted slightly to the left as it rose up the slope, so that the débris ran clear of the trench from which it was thrown out, and stones rolled to the bottom clear of the lower cuttings. Each section thus made was roughly 4 m. in depth

and some 6 or 7 m. long; but the topmost (D) was continued further into the mound as it approached more nearly level ground. On the east face two other trenches (E and F) were cut, covering relatively much the same height as A, B, and C on the west face; but owing to the proximity of a building upon the summit at this point, no work was done higher up the slope. Nor was any work done upon the summit of the mound; this is an exceptionally fine site, compact, accessible, and well stratified, and it merits scientific excavation; consequently we left undisturbed the somewhat restricted surface area available for future investigation.¹

Trench A disclosed the traces of an earth rampart running parallel to the slope of the mound at an average depth of 1.50 m., and the bottom of the rampart was only reached at a depth of 3.70 m. For this reason none of the pottery recovered in this trench (cf. Pls. VI and VII) can be regarded as strictly stratified except such as came from below the bottom of the rampart; that is, with a registration figure showing a greater depth than 3.70 m. In this cutting we reached the approximate level of the surrounding alluvium at a depth of 4.80 m. from the head of the trench, but we cannot feel certain that we had reached virgin soil. The alluvium is, however, a relatively recent deposit, and it yielded no traces of an older culture.

Trench B disclosed in its outer part the summit of the same rampart; and for the most part was well stratified except for the upper metre of surface deposit. As an inspection of the sectional diagram on Plate V will show, there is good probability that all the materials below 1.20 m., shown in Plate VIII, lay stratified in their original contexts. The striations ran almost to the edge, and good occupation floors were registered at 1.80 m. and 2.50 m. Near the bottom, about 3 m. deep, a large *pithos* found *in situ* (shown also on Pl. VIII) presumably indicates by the position of its mouth another floor level at that depth.

Trench C shows good stratification lines at 4 m., 2.75 m., and again at 2 m. depth; and the stratum overlying a deposit of earth and ash at 1.20 m. though thin is seemingly reliable, so that in this case again the materials from 1.20 m. downwards are worth consideration, while those below the 2 m. level may be relied upon. This is a particular satisfaction, as our Plates (VIII-XI) show a considerable proportion of Imperial Hittite contacts.

1. There were traces, however, of an old surface trench.

Trench D was less satisfactory ; it proved to cut through a considerable depth of soil, and when this had been eliminated it was only a broken stratum that disclosed itself at about 1.50 m. : so that from the stratigraphical standpoint the material from this trench is not conclusive. Nevertheless, being near the top of the mound it does give an indication of the general character of the later occupation, which undoubtedly belongs to the Early Iron Age, including as it does some Cypriote geometric wares. There was found little trace of any Hellenistic occupation and practically nothing of a Roman character either in the surface deposits or in the upper cutting.

On the other side of the mound *Trench E* was designed to trace the face of the earth rampart (disclosed in A), and the material found in this part of the work against the glacis can only be regarded as relatively stratified.

The upper *Trench F* disclosed an interesting system of defensive walls constructed over the top of the glacis, and this piece of investigation was not continued in order to avoid disturbance of these features. Objects from Trench F between the 1 and 2 m. levels may be regarded as representing an occupation level, but in illustration of the reservation just made it should be mentioned that a fragment found at the foot of F actually fitted one recovered some way down the slope of E. Experience shows that digging on the outer slope of a mound presents numerous technical pitfalls ; and even where the strata run horizontally there is still the danger of specimens having been displaced in antiquity, particularly small fragments, which were frequently embedded in bricks and mortar used well above the level to which they originally belonged. The edge of the village was also a favourite place for rubbish pits, though none such was observed in the sections made in this case.

Notwithstanding these considerations a very interesting stratigraphy is established ; and even without the help of the more reliable materials from Mersin, a comparison with objects from Palestine and Syria readily showed a continuous occupation from a very early Hittite¹ stratum contemporary with the close of the Early Bronze Age in Palestine

1. In this report we use the term 'Hittite' as short for 'Cilician-Hittite' for want of a more descriptive word. There is enough evidence of contact with the Hattic area of Anatolia to show that both Cilicia and Hatti shared the elements of a common culture at any rate from the time when the kings of Hatti established themselves at Boghaz-Keui, but at the same time there are features of both that are distinct. 'Hittite' in our usage connotes that which is Anatolian or North Syrian during the period of Hattic rule and domination.

(Trench A), through the Middle Bronze Age of Palestine and Syria, that is from 2200 to 1600 B.C. (Trench B), into the Hittite Imperial period (1500-1200 B.C.) with its Mycenaean relations (Trench C); with a late history in the Early Iron Age unfortunately not so clear (Trench D). Thus of the objects figured on Pl. VI, the hand-made dish no. 30, pushed-up base no. 28, incurving contour of no. 27, the rim and profile of dish no. 26, also no. 3, the bossed rim of the dish no. 19, are all comparable with Early Bronze Age shapes from Jericho (cf. *Annals*, XIX, Pls. IV, no. 14; VIII, no. 11, etc.). On Pl. VII the scrabbled thin ware (no. 8) and spouted object (no. 7) recall the less-known culture of Middle Bronze Age I. On Pl. VIII the ring and disc bases nos. 23 and 21, and numerous others unpublished, also the divided handle no. 18, are characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age culture of Palestine in general. On Pl. IX the vase form no. 15, together with its decorative scheme of hachured triangles between horizontal bands, while recalling specimens occasionally found in Palestine, is identical in its main features with a jug of drab ware decorated with dull red paint upon a cream surface, found in a Middle Bronze Age deposit at Seliemeh in N. Syria and now exhibited in the Museum at Aleppo. With this object were associated also decorative designs recalling those of a vessel somewhat similar in shape from Tomb 9 at Jericho (*Annals*, XIX, Pl. XXX, no. 11).

In the upper levels (Pls. X-XIII), parallelism with the Syro-Palestinian development becomes less obvious, but is still borne out in some details, *e.g.* the everted rims, pedestal bases (though the latter are present also in lower Cilician levels), and the increasing tendency towards painted decoration fully established in the Late Bronze Age as also in Egypt. A more secure comparison is to be found in some Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean contacts, *e.g.* on Pl. X, no. 6, and the Bucranium in relief, no. 8; while the surface deposits and the uppermost levels introduce Cypro-Geometric fabrics (*e.g.* Pl. XI, nos. 3 and 4) of the tenth to eighth centuries B.C.

Thus the specimens selected for illustration indicate a fairly continuous sequence from about 2300 B.C. into the Early Iron Age, *i.e.* generally speaking, from the time of the Hittite penetration of Asia Minor until the Persian conquest, with possibly an unfilled gap after the close of the Bronze Age in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. When we consider that the mound is relatively small and practically intact, with only one surface building and little or no trace of Hellenistic or

Roman occupation, it is evident that it is one of the finest known sites for illustrating the archaeology of the Cilician Hittite area.

For a description of the fabrics of the Kazanlı specimens the reader is referred to the letterpress facing the Plates; but in anticipation of our Mersin Report it is interesting to look at some of the objects again in the light of our fresh results. On Pl. VI the decorated cup with handle no. 18 attracts attention; its form resembles certain vessels of Trojan prototype found at Alishar (*Alishar*, I, Pl. VIII, b 139, b 37, and b 332) and ascribed to the Copper Age (which is equivalent to the so-called Early Bronze Age of Palestine). In this case the pottery of pinky colour is fine and compact and apparently wheel-finished, the yellow surface is burnished vertically, while the decorative lines which play around the rim and handle are dead black in colour. This specimen is of the highest interest, and though for reasons stated its stratification is open to doubt, it is undoubtedly an archaic specimen belonging to an Early Hittite period. The Alishar examples belong perhaps to an earlier phase of ceramic art, but the distribution no less than the survival of the type is significant. At Mersin nothing quite similar has been found, but the low handle is found on cups of the pre-Imperial Hittite and proto-Hittite periods. An exactly similar though fragmentary specimen, not figured in our Plates, was found at Kazanlı outside the rampart in Trench E (1.00–3.00 m.).

On the same Plate (VI) specimens nos. 29 to 32 belong to a stage earlier than the inception of the earthen rampart. The first of these, though only a small fragment, is technically of great interest. The pattern is incised, but the reddish-brown coloured slip covers most of the linear incisions which the subsequent burnishing has not affected. Similar specimens have been found in low levels at Jericho and isolated fragments have been found at Mersin, not as yet, however, in a dateable stratum. From the examples of Early Hittite fabrics quoted it appears possible that deeper excavation at the foot of the mound would disclose an earlier Hittite stratum corresponding with the earliest Hittite levels, or maybe the proto-Hittite levels, of Mersin. Other details of types figured on Pl. VI conform very readily with the specimens from the low Hittite levels on the latter site, and some of these are both typical and distinctive, e.g. the peculiar shoulder and straight-up rim of no. 14; the short, stumpy base of no. 15; the developed ring base of no. 17; the pushed-up base of no. 28; indeed all the shapes on the lower half of this Plate

are characteristic. Their association with the rampart would seem to place the construction of the latter at about 2000-1900 B.C., a date which marks a Hittite epoch on the plateau.

It is of course impossible to speak yet independently of Cilician history. The culture of the period illustrated in these Plates contains peculiar elements, some of which are the most typical, *e.g.* the decorated bowls and pedestal cups, Pls. IX, nos. 17, 18, 19; XI, nos. 8, 9, 27, etc.; but it still contains so many Hittite types that the two areas cannot be treated as entirely independent from 2000 B.C. onwards. Moreover, the development of the fortification of this period seems to correspond well in round figures with the foundation of the Hittite capital at Boghaz-Keui under the Kings of Kussar.

Though several of the objects figured on Pl. VII include points of special interest and appear to be of early date, *e.g.* nos. 8, 10 and 12, the fact that their stratification is not assured makes it difficult to utilise such evidence as they might have afforded. No. 1 shows a type of decorated handle familiar in the Imperial period and possibly later; no. 3 may represent a Cypriote fragment or a local imitation thereof; and no. 15 looks like and may belong to the object figured as no. 18 on the previous Plate and already described.

On Pl. VIII the pithos no. 26, with its small handles in the neck and nearly straight rim, fits into the Cilician-Hittite corpus of pre-Imperial times. A special feature is the marking of this vessel with a stamp showing in series nine contiguous concentric circles, possibly a measure of its contents. The forms of cup with high handle, nos. 9 and 17, are familiar both at Mersin and at Alishar, indeed throughout Anatolia. The miniature crescential ledge handle shown near the rim of a jar, no. 4, is locally very characteristic; a specimen was figured in our preliminary report for Mersin, where others have since been found stratified in the proto-Hittite levels. The form of bases nos. 21 and 23 has already been mentioned; the broad, rising spout like no. 6 is also an early feature. Of painted *motifs* the linear decoration on drinking-cup no. 1, ladder pattern no. 2, and lattice no. 22 are characteristic of pre-Imperial painting; but there is no immediate parallel at Mersin of the *motif* partly developed in no. 5, unless this should resolve itself into triangles.

The objects figured on Plate IX, happily all stratified, are also typical of the pre-Imperial period. The horizontal handle, seen in no. 7, is a common feature of Anatolian pottery, and is found at Mersin all through

the pre-Imperial period to its end. The painted and incised *motifs* illustrated on this Plate are particularly noteworthy, as painting was not a common feature of the age, which rather tended to elaboration of form and finish, to judge by the specimens found both in the lowland at Mersin and on the plateau at Kultepe, Alishar, and Boghaz-Keui.

To judge by the similarity of numerous painted specimens and also the plain shapes of Mersin, the upper levels of Trench C and the deeper levels of Trench D at Kazanlı represent the Imperial Age (B.C. 1500-1250). In confirmation we seem to have a clear reflection of Mycenaean *motifs* in certain specimens. The fragment of a pedestal represented on Pl. X, no. 6, looks indeed like a Mycenaean fabric, and its provenance is satisfactory. In this the clay is finely levigated, and the decorative bands are in matt black on a smooth painted surface. The fragments figured on Pl. VII, nos. 3 and 6, from near the surface of Trench A, lower down the slope, fall dubiously into the same category, but the fragment shown on Pl. XI, no. 4, from the surface above Trench C may be presumed to belong, like no. 3, to the Cypriote-Geometric period, and to have slipped down the slope to where it was found. There were found, however, several other fragments, the Mycenaean origin of which was hardly doubtful. The objects represented on Pl. VII, nos. 3 and 6, and on Pl. XII, no. 17, are peculiarly characteristic of this period in Cilician pottery, which merits a more detailed study as soon as our Mersin material, and that from Miss Goldman's work at Tarsus, becomes available for comparison.

Coming now to Trenches E and F on the eastern slope, we note that, as above stated, no digging was done in E below the face of the glacis (already discovered in Trench A), and in this case it was found within 1 m. of the surface at the top and 2 m. at the bottom, the whole uncovered face upon the slope being about 4 m. high. The objects figured on Pl. XIII represent only a selection of a quite abundant deposit which we must assume may be only partially stratified and all posterior to the construction of the glacis.

On Pl. XIII, no. 31 represents a fragment similar in all respects to an example from Mersin of the pre-Imperial period; the spout no. 29 is also one of our Mersin types, and occurs in several low levels, down approximately to c. 2000 B.C. The stump base no. 27 is rarer, but it has its partial analogy on Pl. X, no. 24, and Pl. VI, no. 15; while in the lowest (proto-Hittite) levels at Mersin a solid stump base formed a distinctive feature,

but it is not represented exactly in any of the Kazanli specimens. In no. 25, as in nos. 17 and 6 from the upper part of this Plate, are examples of combed decoration which at one time we suspected to be intrusive later elements, but we now find to be stratified just below the Imperial levels. A somewhat unusual shape of bowl (no. 20), with a high, rising, horizontal handle at the top near the rim, agrees also with types established in the earlier Hittite levels at Mersin. Nos. 18 and 19 represent standard Imperial or pre-Imperial shapes of rim. The upper part of the Plate shows at a glance the increased proportion of decorated pieces, though it should be said that numerous plain pieces are not reproduced. In this case the specimens come from Trench F, and therefore from above the top of the rampart, where some sense of the stratification was preserved. The handle no. 15 may be compared with no. 4, and both specimens illustrate the basket-work origin of this type of handle, which crosses the mouth of a hole-mouthed vessel. In the latter case the upper part of the pot had also been decorated with solid triangles between bands, a well-known Hittite *motif* (cf. also no. 12). The use of the hachured triangle as a decorative feature is well seen on the dish no. 10 and the bowl no. 14, though in the latter case a restoration of painted squares would be admissible even though exceptional. Object no. 7 represents standard pre-Imperial and Imperial shapes of bowl which usually rest upon a flat or disc base, while the inside of the rim is decorated as seen with a series of small short strokes. Frequently such bowls are treated with the same sort of *motifs* as are found upon the pedestal-cups, of which examples are to be seen in nos. 2, 3 and 8. These are characteristic of the Cilician pottery of the Imperial and pre-Imperial period, and though the decorative *motif* is much the same, the shape of the cup is usually indicated by a carination or semi-carination, while the deeper bowls have a more rounded contour. Pedestal-cups are found at Mersin as low almost as the bottom of Hittite levels, even overlapping with a different and simpler shape of drinking-cup. Lastly, the handle no. 1 projecting from the rim and seen undecorated again on Pl. X, no. 3, is in its decorated form found stratified below the Imperial level at Mersin, and is also a familiar feature throughout the Early Imperial period; it is usually associated with two small knobs on the opposite side of the dish or bowl, of which an example may be seen on Pl. X, no. 2.

This rapid survey of the Kazanli pottery in the light of our more recently established series from Mersin thus confirms our first impression

as to the periods represented, and to these can be assigned round dates on the basis of Hittite history. The pottery, be it said, is not the same as that of the plateau, but it is linked by various correspondences at different stages, and may reasonably be called Cilician Hittite (*i.e.* Cilician pottery of the Hittite period). The stratification also seems to represent a continuous occupation throughout the period of the Hattic domination of the plateau, though beginning perhaps rather earlier, down to the Imperial period. After this, with a possible break at the beginning of the Early Iron Age (*c.* 1200 B.C.), its history seems to have been coterminous with that of our Mersin site, with which also its pottery has much in common. From this observation no general historical inference can be made, because at Mersin it is fairly clear that the site (there surrounded by a Hittite fortress-wall) was destroyed and abandoned during this early part of the Imperial period. It would require more complete excavation of the upper levels at Kazanlı to find whether this had been the course of events there also; in any case a revival or partial occupation is represented on both sites by the sprinkling of Cypro-Geometric pottery, which seems to carry us down to the Persian conquest.

Anchiale. One further observation inevitably arises: the very sparse indications of any early Greek, Hellenistic and Roman remains at Kazanlı does not tend to confirm the identification of this site with *Anchiale* of the classical geographers. Certainly this question is difficult, for we have found no other site to fit Strabo's description of the coastline. On the other hand, Arrian's reference to Alexander's march from *Anchiale* to Tarsus suggests the existence of a city in being at the time. Further investigation alone can determine the relevance of these accounts. Possibly our present excavations at Mersin will provide a clue.

SIRKELI

When we come to examine the potsherds from the great mound at Sirkeli, and from a smaller neighbouring mound, we find very different indications. Here we made five cuttings. One (lettered C on Pl. XIV) was of considerable size and depth, and the railway has cut completely through the adjoining mound; so that superficial evidence is abundant. In nearly every case remains of the Early Iron Age predominated—indeed, only at a depth of 4 m. in cuttings C and E did we get down to levels of the Imperial period. It is clear then that the abandonment of the sites at Mersin and Kazanlı was not due to a big movement of population;

and the site of Sirkeli, apart from its other interests, would amply repay excavation by the light it would throw on the local archaeology of the first centuries of the Early Iron Age which have eluded us elsewhere.

The sketch plan on Pl. XIV shows the position of trenches A-E. This site is somewhat triangular in shape, its apex being marked by an outcrop of rock upon the river bank. Here, as described last year, can be seen the Imperial monument of King Muwatalli.¹ On the north side of the mound stretches out a terrace on which at its western extremity was found a stone lion of crude style,² which may belong to a late Hittite or even later period. The position of this lion suggests that the terrace is itself ancient, *i.e.* not due to modern agriculture. The contours show how the mound continued to grow thereafter, but as we did no work upon the actual summit we cannot throw any light upon the latest phase of occupation. Our *Trench A* was in fact designed to test the origins of the upper levels, but owing to rain and other difficulties this piece of work had to be abandoned when it had penetrated only 75 cms., after disclosing the generally Hellenistic character of the surface deposits and a piece of Cypro-Archaic ii. The materials indicated an occupation between 600 B.C. and A.D. 100.

Trench B was designed to test the origins of the lower terrace; but no Hittite fabrics were found, and the remaining fragments were again Hellenistic in appearance with the exception possibly of one Roman base (range of date approximately 300-50 B.C.). Evidently the Hellenistic occupation overflowed the summit of the mound and spread down the slopes. In order to test the earlier levels we made a much deeper cutting (E) in the centre of the terrace, as described below. Another shallow cutting on the steeper slope of the mound to the south (D) confirmed the indications of Trenches A and B. From a selection of painted fragments we note a piece of Cypro-Archaic ii (600-425 B.C.) and one Hellenistic fragment, and these pieces seem to indicate adequately the latest phase of occupation.

Trench C, running slantways up the eastern slope of the mound, was designed on a bigger scale and to penetrate more deeply. For safety and convenience in registration the work was carried out in steps (see section Pl. XIV), and to each metre of depth at the head of the step was assigned a small letter (a, b, c, etc.). Thus in step no. 8 the excavation carried

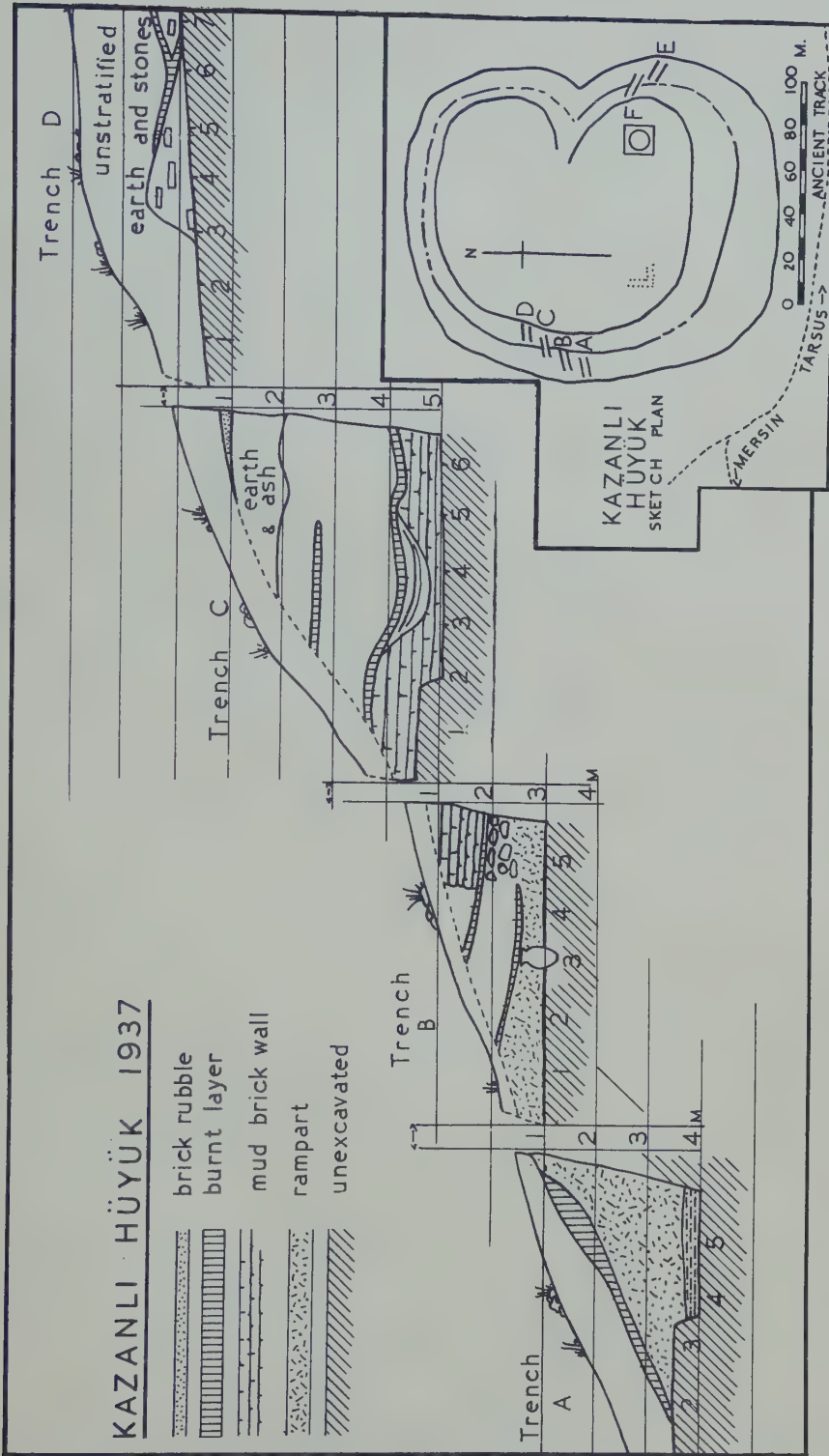
1. *Annals*, XXIV, Pls. XVIII and XIX.

2. Now in the Adana Museum.

down into the sixth metre (e-f). Here, as elsewhere, it was not until the excavation had been taken down to the fifth metre that we reached deposits in which could be recognised the traces of Imperial Hittite tradition. In this piece of work, the surface deposit was first removed to a depth of 80 cms. over all, and proved to contain numerous Cypriote pieces dateable to the seventh century B.C. Painted fabrics were common, chiefly of the Cypriote-Geometric style, with many specimens actually imported. Cypro-Archaic ii, with its white-painted wares (white on buff ground covered with concentric circles on the interior), gave a rather later date, 600-475 B.C.; while a piece of late *Bucchero* substantially confirmed the earlier limit of range in this deposit, from approximately 700 B.C. to 475 B.C.

The lower layers (f-g) throughout this cutting continued to produce Cypriote indications, including black on red geometric; black on white, white on black, also white painted i and ii; painted handles both vertical and horizontal, mostly on small cups or bowls; ring bases of pink and buff wares; a fragment of black Corinthian ware, all pointing consistently to an Early Iron Age occupation. Earlier types suggesting 'Hittite' influences or tradition from the deeper layers (d, e) included stumpy necked vessels with everted rims and globular body (from 3, c), a pedestal cup base (4, c), a handmade fragment from the rim of a plain bowl, pebble burnished right up to the brim, the clay being brown or grey and gritty (from 7, b), a divided handle from the same level; a cooking-pot with everted rim and stumpy neck, and several monochrome burnished fabrics also as high as 8, c. In 8, d and e, occurred a radical change in the character of the pottery, among which is not only a piece of red ware with grey gritty core, but there appear some handmade fabrics rather thick and yellow, with grey core in which are traces of fibre. Everted rims and globular shapes also make their appearance at this depth. Higher up the slope the Iron Age deposits evidently become deeper; for in step 10, which was carried down to 6 m. depth, some possibly Persian wares appeared at the fourth metre; and it was only towards the bottom that pottery approached the Bronze Age appearance, including handmade fabrics.

Trench E. Lastly, we turn to our deepest sounding (E) upon the northern terrace, which was already considerably below the top of the mound. Work was carried down to a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ m., but as the results are homogeneous, the selection of pottery illustrated on Pls. XV-XVII

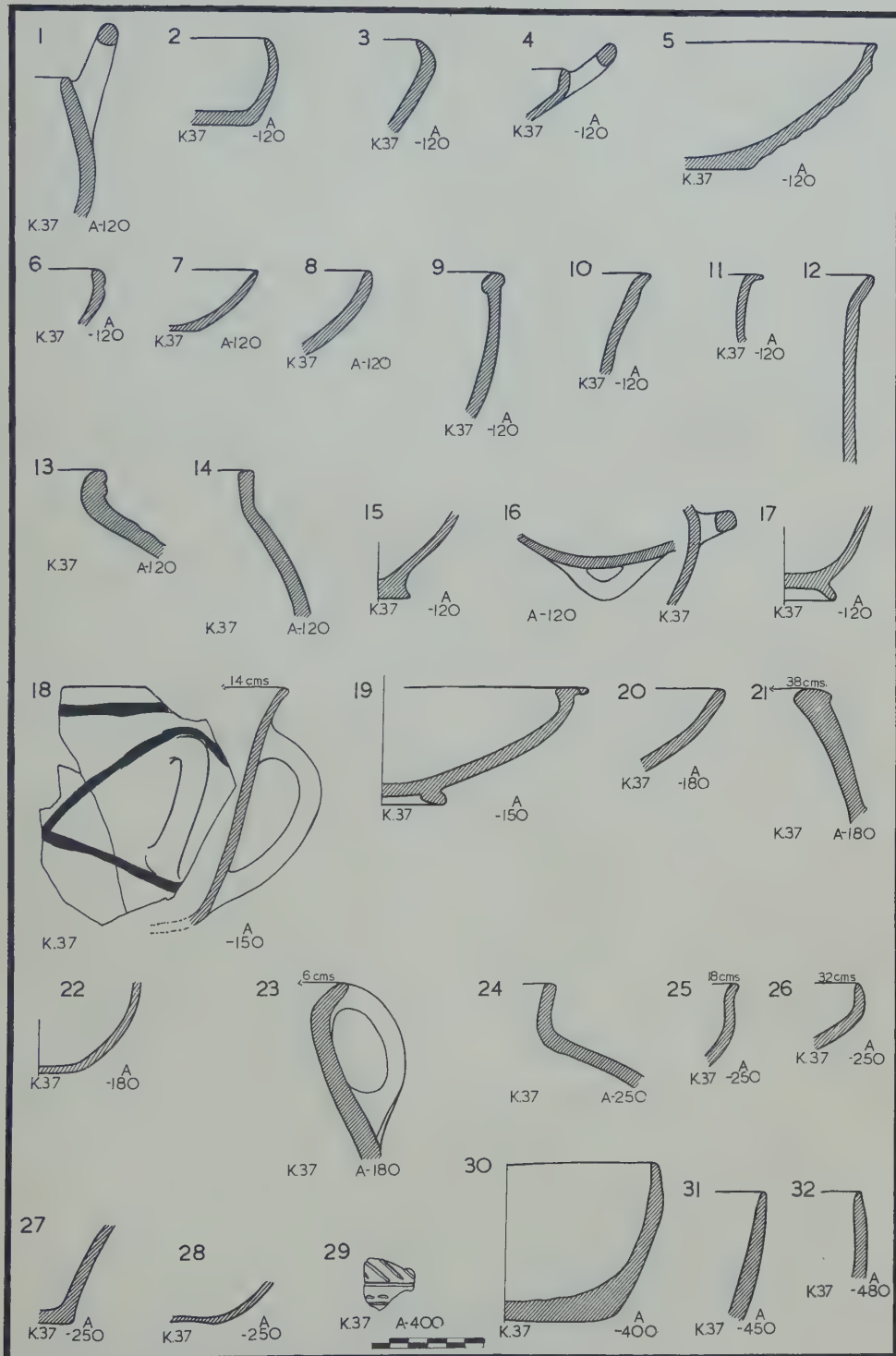


KAZANLI, 1937

SKETCH PLAN OF SITE AND SECTION OF TRENCHES A-D

KAZANLI, 1937. PLATE VI.

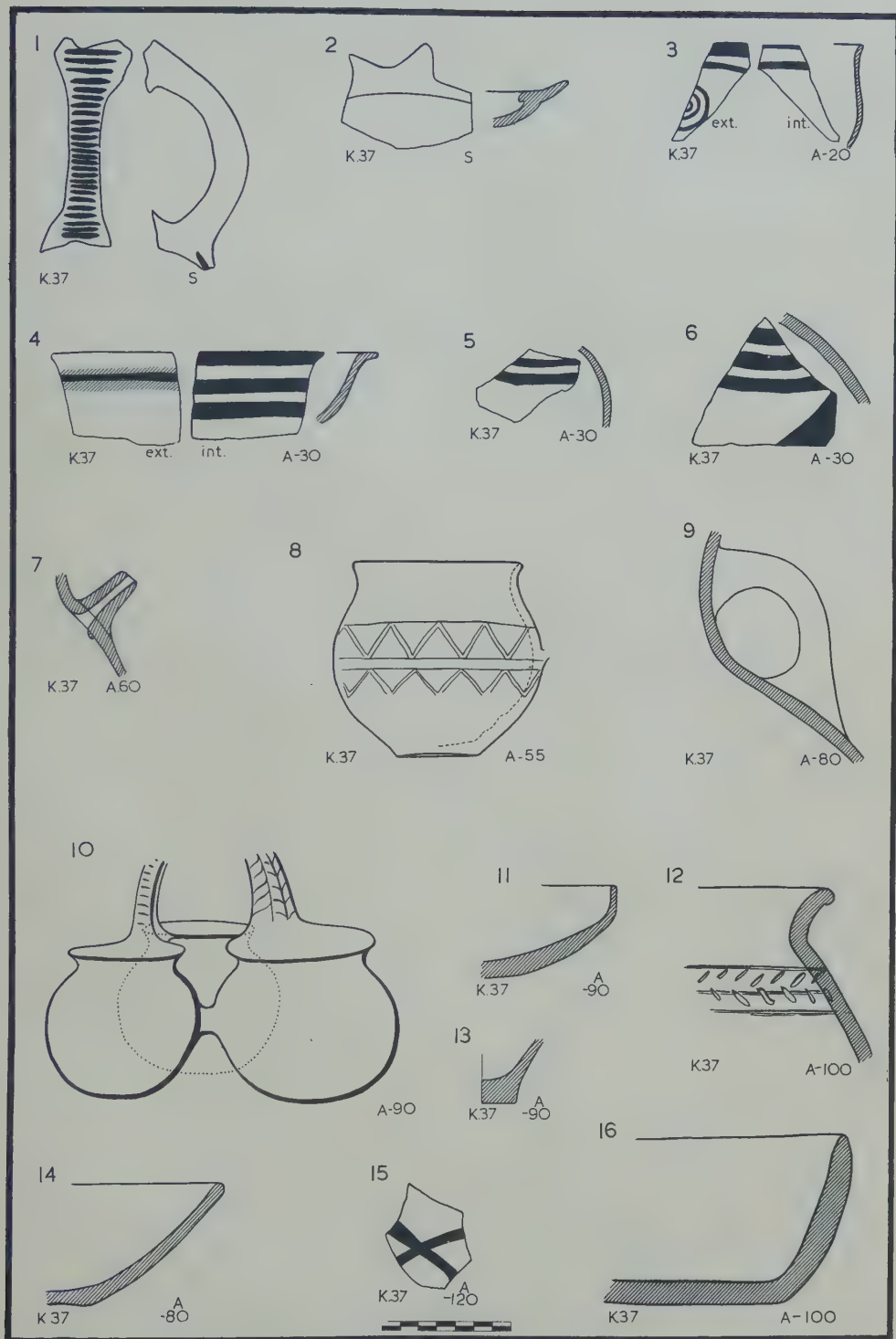
- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| 1 | Brown gritty ware ; pinky buff surfaces ; wh.-m. | A-120 |
| 3 | Pinky grey ware with grits ; bnd. int. and ext. | A-120 |
| 4 | Pink clay ; buff surface ; handle near edge of rim ; wh.-m. | A-120 |
| 5 | Pink clay ; fine grit ; surfaces washed with self. | A-120 |
| 6 | Buff paste with grits ; wh.-m. ; incipient bead rim. | A-120 |
| 7 | Pink core, compact ; few grits ; pink int. and ext. | A-120 |
| 8 | Pink gritless ware ; pink int. and ext. ; containing straw fragment ; hand-m. | A-120 |
| 9 | Red ware ; bright int. ; matt paint ext. ; wh.-m. | A-120 |
| 11 | Black core, white grits ; black wash int. ; red bnd. ext. ; hand-m. | A-120 |
| 12 | Lt. brown clay ; buff slip int. and ext. ; hand-m. | A-120 |
| 13 | Black core, red surfaces ; coarse ware ; red slip int. and ext. | A-120 |
| 14 | Red ware with grits ; some sparkling ; greyish int. ; self slip int. and ext. ; bnd. hand-m. | A-120 |
| 15 | Pink ware ; few white grits ; pink surfaces ; wh.-m. | A-120 |
| 16 | Pinky gritty core ; greenish buff surfaces ; hand-m. | A-120 |
| 17 | Buff ware, white grits, buff surfaces, wh.-m. | A-120 |
| 18 | Pinky pottery (Hittite), fine, compact ; yellow surface bnd. vert. ; dead black painted dec. | A-150 |
| 19 | Pink pottery with fine grit ; compact ; bnd. self slip ext. ; one only small knob on rim. | A-150 |
| 20 | Pink sandy ware ; red wash int. and ext. | A-180 |
| 21 | Grey gritty ware ; surface baked red ; bnd. | A-180 |
| 22 | Pink clay ; rough pink surfaces ; hand-m. | A-180 |
| 24 | Brown ware ; little grit ; wet-sm. int. ; dark brown slip-sm. ext. ; wh.-m. | A-250 |
| 25 | Pink buff ware ; fine grits ; yellow brown smoothed surface int. and ext. | A-250 |
| 26 | Pinky buff ware ; fine white grits ; brown bnd. slip int. and ext. | A-250 |
| 27 | Brown sandy core ; slip of same ; int. not so smooth as ext. | A-250 |
| 28 | Very thin red ware ; fine grits ; not very compact ; rather rough int. ; wet-sm. ext. | A-250 |
| 29 | Frag. with incised decoration. | A-400 |
| 30 | Coarse ware, pink buff int. and ext. ; no grits ; unevenly fired ; tendency to split vertically. | A-400 |
| 31 | Pinky grey pottery fired dark ; red bnd. slip int. and ext. ; mottled ext. | A-450 |
| 32 | Coarse ware ; bnd. int. and ext. | A-400 |



KAZANLI, 1937 POTTERY TYPES FROM THE LOWER LEVELS IN TRENCH A

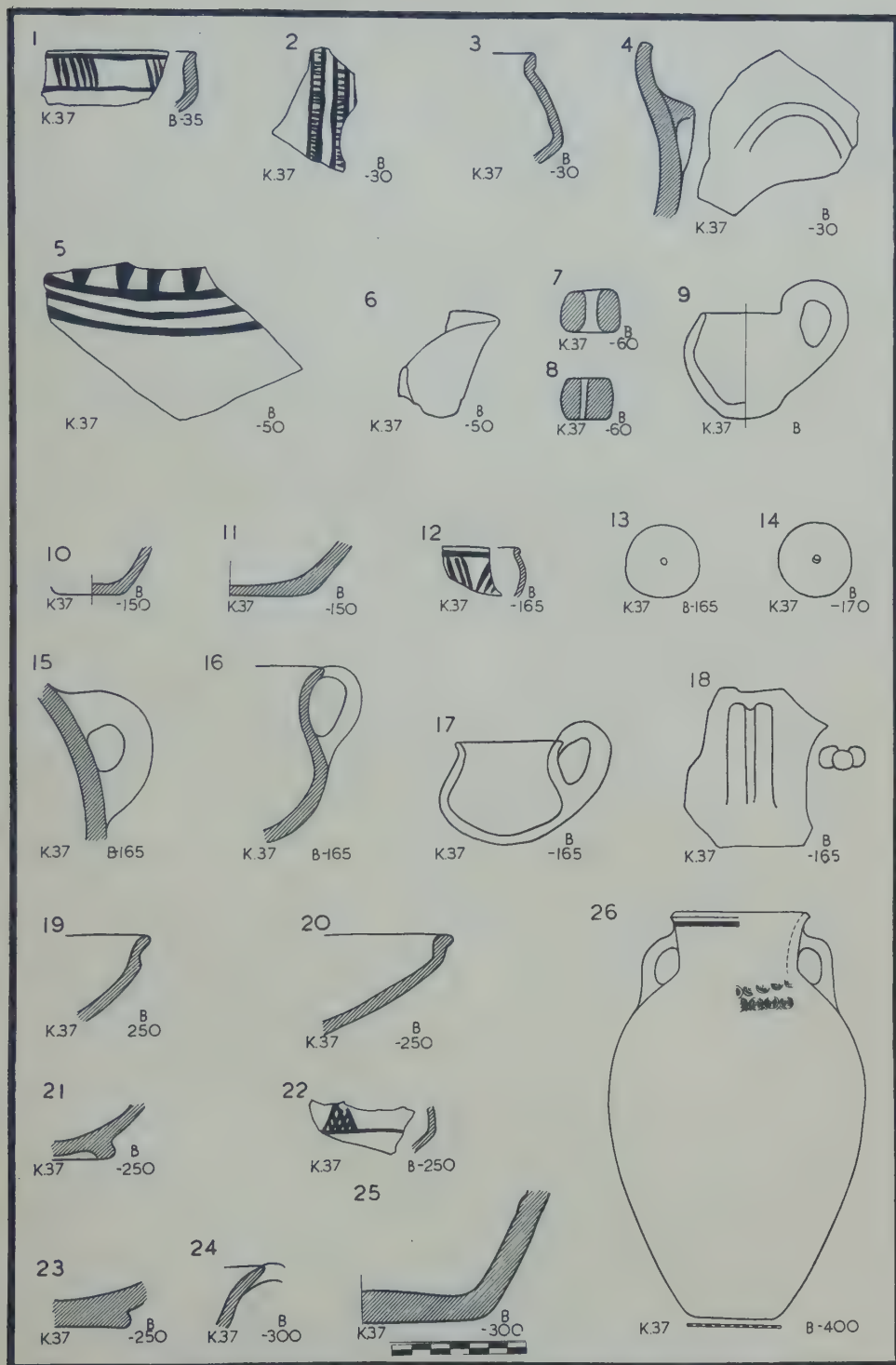
KAZANLI, 1937. PLATE VII.

- 1 Brown red gritless clay ; buff surfaces ; red painted dec. on handle. S. East
- 2 Lt. yellow gritless clay ; lt. yellow surfaces ; wh.-m. S. East
- 3 Thin buff ware ; bnd. ; reddish painted freehand dec. A-20
- 4 Pinky yellow pottery ; yellow slightly bnd. surfaces ; red-brown paint in several coats. A-30
- 6 Pinky yellow fine compact clay ; bright red paint uniform colour ; probably all bnd. A-30
- 7 Pink ware ; yellow bnd. surface. A-60
- 8 Pink pottery, buff surface originally bnd. ; fine ; vert. handle probably to rim. A-55
- 9 Heavy coarse pink ware with small grits. A-80
- 10 Brown ware, wet-sm. ; ? originally bnd. ; hand-m. treble handle divides to the two smaller vessels which are connected unevenly. A-90
- 11 Yellowish ware ; few large grits ; pinky surfaces. A-90
- 12 Buff ware, black grit ; pinky int. ; dec. crude incisions ; wh.-m. A-100
- 13 Buff ware ; reddish surfaces ; wh.-m. A-90
- 14 Pinkish ware, small grits ; black roughly smoothed int. ; yellow brown ext. A-80
- 15 Same as Pl. VI, 18, but does not fit. A-120
- 16 Brown, almost gritless pottery ; rather rough buff surfaces. A-100



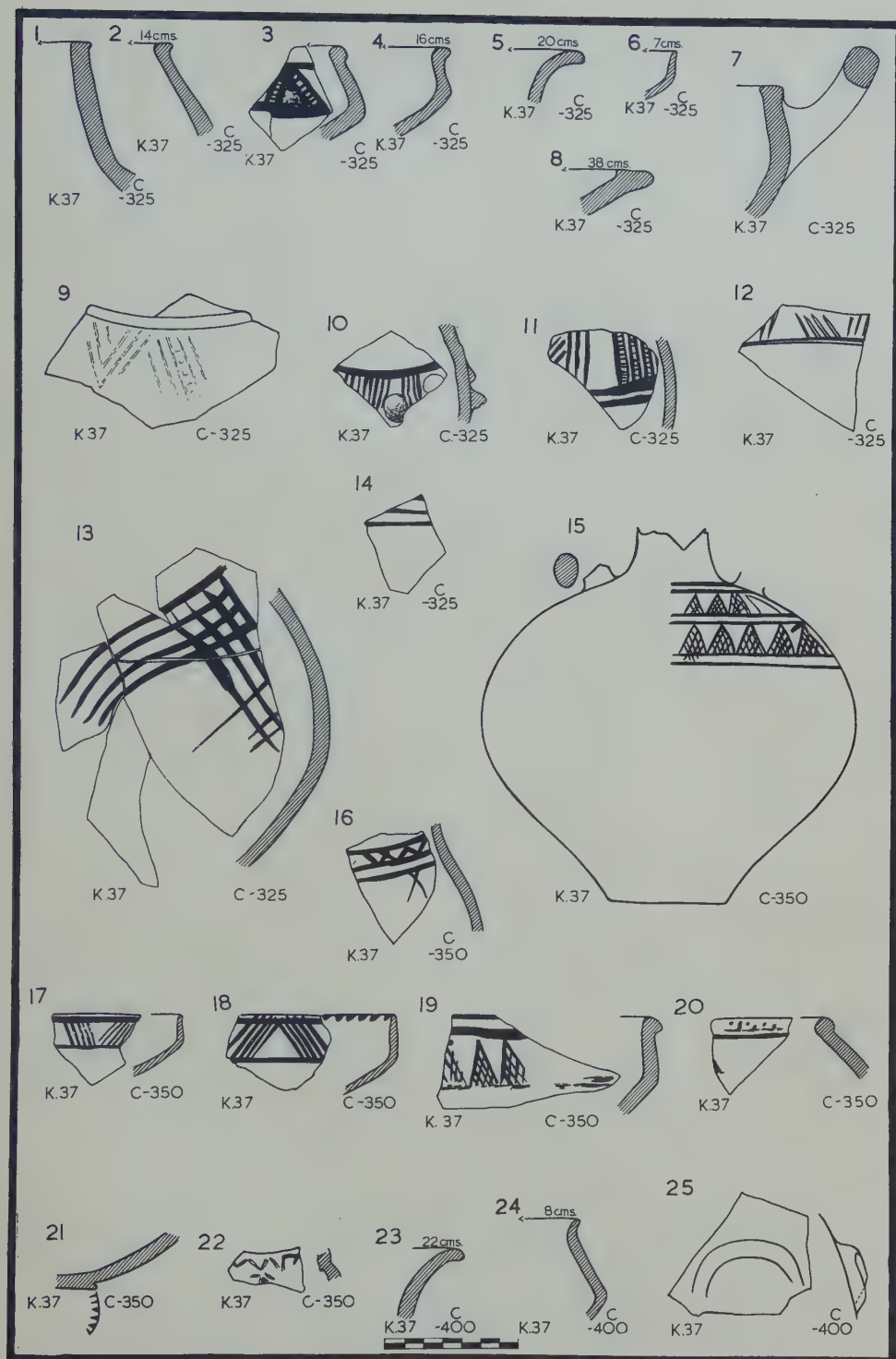
KAZANLI, 1937. PLATE VIII.

- 1 Pinky pottery ; fine grits ; buff int. ; buff bnd. slip ext. ; red painted dec. B-35
- 2 Pink pottery ; grey int. ; brown bnd. slip ext. ; dec. dark-red black paint irregularly. B-30
- 3 Pinky buff pottery ; sandy ; yellow sm. int. ; yellow brown wet-sm. ext. B-30
- 4 Ledge handle ; gritty brown ware ; surface same ; rather rough. B-30
- 5 Red brown pottery ; fairly smooth int. ; red brown surface ; red brown to black unevenly applied paint. B-50
- 6 Rising pulled-out spout ; grey pink clay ; hard baked ; red brown wash on red surface. B-50
- 7 Whorl or small mace head. B-60
- 8 Spindle whorl. B-60
- 9 Dark grey pottery with large white grits ; brown int. ; blackish to brown ext. due to uneven firing. B—
- 10 Lt. brown ware ; small grit and sand ; lt. brown surface fairly smooth. B-150
- 11 Pink buff ware ; fine grits ; roughish int. ; yellow slip-sm. ext. ; wh.-m. B-150
- 12 Fine yellow ware ; buff sm. surface ; black painted dec. B-165
- 13 Bone whorl. B-165
- 14 Bone whorl. B-170
- 15 Thick circular handle ; rough brown pottery ; grits and holes ; brown surfaces. B-165
- 16 Yellow fine sandy pottery with ext. of same ; int. rather warmer but rougher. B-165
- 17 Cup of brown pottery with fine grits ; surface of same ; wet-sm. B-165
- 18 Divided handle of black pottery ; fine grits ; int. roughish ; grey wet-sm. ext. ; apparently made in three. B-165
- 19 Pinky buff pottery ; white grits ; buff int. ; warm surface ext. but stained. B-250
- 20 Brown pottery with grits ; heavily fired ; surfaces darkened. B-250
- 21 Sandy lt. brown ware ; surface same. B-250
- 22 Pinky pottery ; very fine grits ; buff surfaces wet-sm. ; black painted dec. B-250
- 23 Lt. brown gritless clay with some holes ; pinky brown surface ; rather rough int. ; perhaps a slip ext. B-250
- 24 Pinky ware ; small grits ; bnd. red round handle to rim ; bnd. int. and ext. ; ? hand-m. B-300
- 25 Gritty ware ; surfaces fired red ; hand built ; not regularly coiled. B-300
- 26 Large store jar with stamps of concentric circles in two rows, overlapping ; ? measures. B-400



KAZANLI, 1937. PLATE IX.

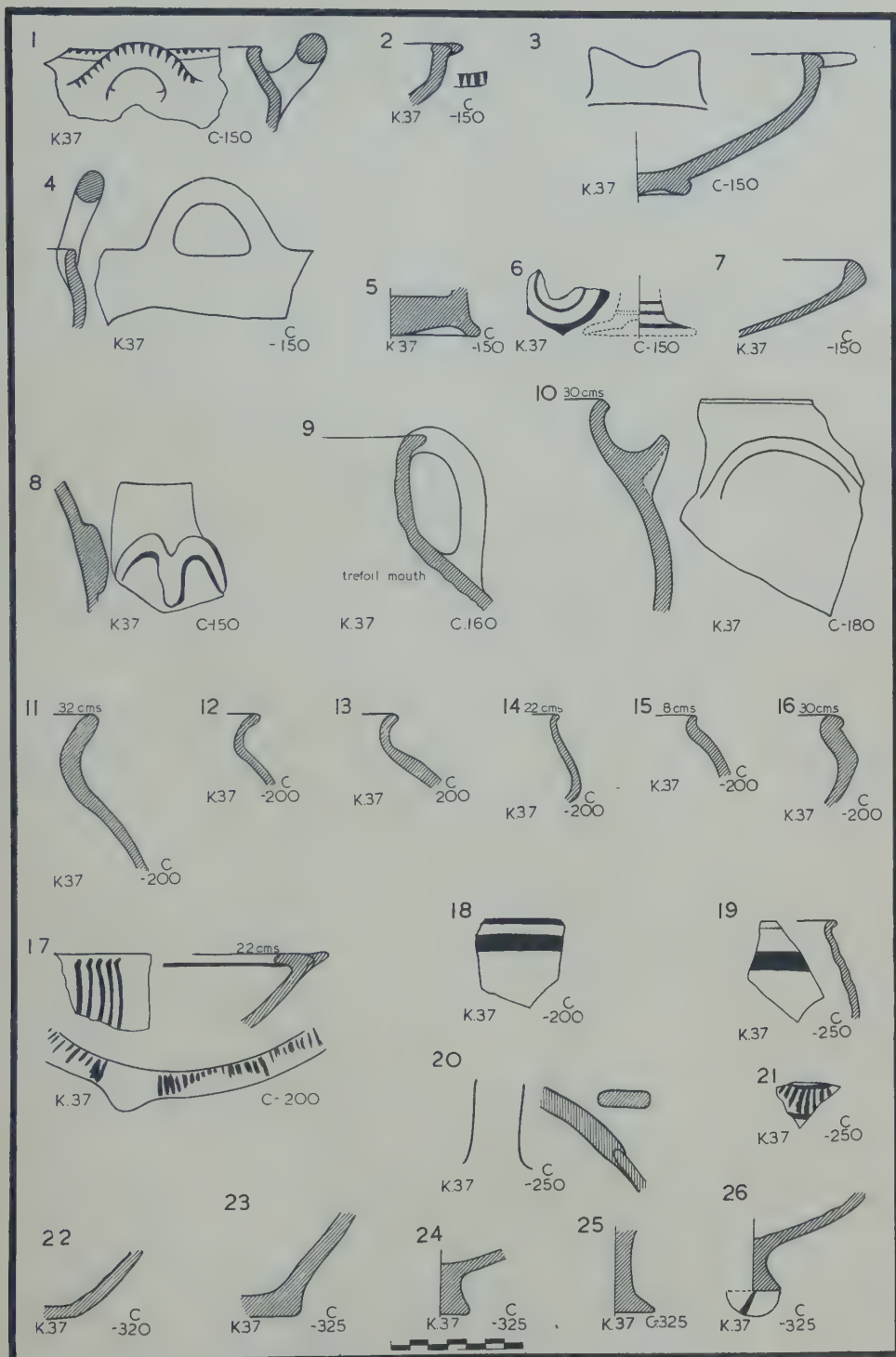
- 1 Red gritty core ; red int. ; brown sm. ext. ; hand-m. C-325
- 2 Yellow clay with light grits ; smooth yellow int. ; wet-sm. semi-bnd. ext. ; wh.-m. C-325
- 3 Pinky buff pottery ; fine grit ; buff surface, smooth and soft ; black painted dec. C-325
- 4 Lt. pink gritless core ; pink wet-sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-325
- 5 Drab grey clay ; white grits ; med. rough int. ; grey sm. ext. ; wh.-m. C-325
- 6 Red brown core ; red sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-325
- 7 Lt. brown gritless core ; wet-sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-325
- 8 Brown clay ; white grits ; reddish buff sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-325
- 9 Lt. yellow gritless core ; yellow wet-sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-325
- 10 Buff pottery, fine grit ; sm.-surface ; lt. red paint ; two bosses. C-325
- 11 Grey pottery ; partly sm. int. ; pinky red bnd. slip ext. ; dark purple painted dec. C-325
- 12 Pink drab pottery ; pinky pebble bnd. int. ; drab wet-sm. ext. ; with incised lines. C-325
- 13 Buff pottery hard ; fine ; med. grits ; buff sm. surface not bnd. ; black painted dec. ; bottom wash of dark brown to lighter reddish brown in two coats. C-325
- 14 Pink pottery ; small grit ; warm pink surface sm. probably bnd. ; red painted dec. C-325
- 15 See description of No. 3. C-350
- 16 Lt. brown pottery, small grits ; not very compact ; wet-sm. int. and ext. ; red brown painted dec. rubbed. C-350
- 17 Pink red fine pottery ; yellow slip ? bnd. ; matt purple painted dec. C-350
- 18 Pinky grey fine pottery ; yellow surface ; purple paint laid on irregularly ext. and rim. C-350
- 19 Pink red pottery, fine grit ; wet-sm. int. ; bnd. ext. ; black red painted dec. C-350
- 20 Pink ware, mixed grit ; originally bnd. ; traces of red paint ; wh.-m. C-350
- 21 Pinky ware, fine grits ; warm buff slip int. and ext. ; dec. on base. C-350
- 22 Pinky buff clay ; wet-sm. ; incised ; shape uncertain. C-350
- 23 Grey ware, white grits ; sandy grey int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-400
- 24 Yellow brown pottery ; lt. brown int. ; brown semi-bnd. ext. ; wh.-m. C-400
- 25 Lunate ledge ; grey gritty ware ; brown surfaces ; hand-m. C-400



KAZANLI, 1937 POTTERY TYPES FROM THE LOWEST LEVELS IN TRENCH C

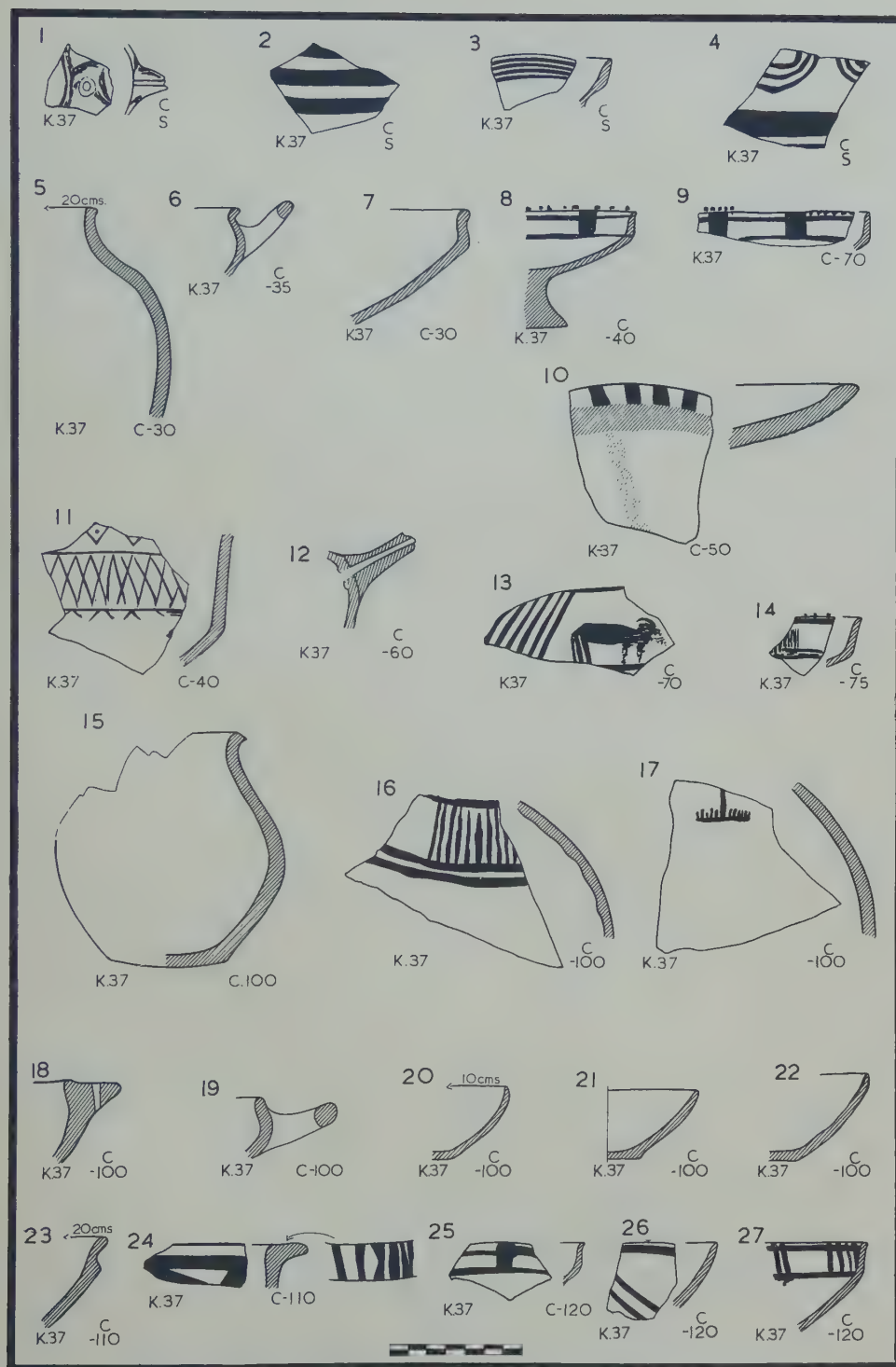
KAZANLI, 1937. PLATE X.

- 1 Yellow clay; few fine white grits; compact; matt buff surface
int. and ext.; painted dec. C-150
- 2 Pinky yellow pottery; wet-sm. int.; dark yellow bnd. ext.; dec.
painted on rim; knob on rim. C-150
- 3 Pink red pottery; fine grits; well baked; pinky red int. encrusted;
yellow pink bnd. ext.; one or possibly two buttons on rim in addition
to the rim-handle. C-150
- 4 Fine compact lt. brown pottery; few very small grits; wet-sm.
int. and ext.; poor finish. C-150
- 6 Fine pink pottery; warm buff. bnd. surface; black painted dec.;
surface feels soft. C-150
- 7 Brown red gritless pottery; brown red half bnd. int. and ext.;
wh.-m. C-150
- 8 Double lunate handle; lt. brown gritless clay; yellow wet-sm. int.;
yellow bnd. ext. C-150
- 9 Handle to trefoil mouth of jug; lt. brown gritty ware; yellow brown
slip-sm. ext. and over rim. C-160
- 10 Lunate ledge; brown gritty ware; wet-sm. int. and ext. C-180
- 11 Red gritty pottery; brown int.; grey black ext.; hand-m. C-225
- 12 Yellow pink ware, no grits; lt. yellow wet-sm. int. and ext.;
wh.-m. C-200
- 13 Same as No. 2. C-200
- 14 Lt. yellow core; wet-sm. int.; buff bnd. slip ext.; wh.-m. C-200
- 15 Close grey gritless pottery; double black bnd. int. and ext.;
wh.-m. C-225
- 16 Brown gritty core; lt. brown wet-sm. int. and ext.; wh.-m. C-225
- 17 Pinky buff fine compact ware; small grit; buff surfaces; stained
int. C-200
- 18 Yellow compact fine clay; thin; wet-sm. int. and ext.; brown
black paint in two or more coats. C-200
- 19 Fine yellow pottery; fine grit; rough int.; smooth ext.; feels
bnd.; faint trace of dark band. C-250
- 20 Lt. biscuit gritless paste; whitish green bnd. slip int. and ext. C-250
- 21 Pink pottery, fine grit; well baked; yellow buff slip; black uneven
dec. C-250
- 22 Base; lt. brown gritless pottery; wh.-m. C-325
- 23 Yellow brown core; fairly sm. int.; lt. yellow ext.; wh.-m. C-325
- 24 Pedestal, yellow gritless clay; yellow wet-sm. int. and ext.; wh.-m.
C-325
- 25 Lt. yellow gritty clay; sm. yellow surface; wh.-m. C-325
- 26 Pinky buff pottery; fine grits; compact; pinky buff surfaces;
wh.-m. ribbings. C-325



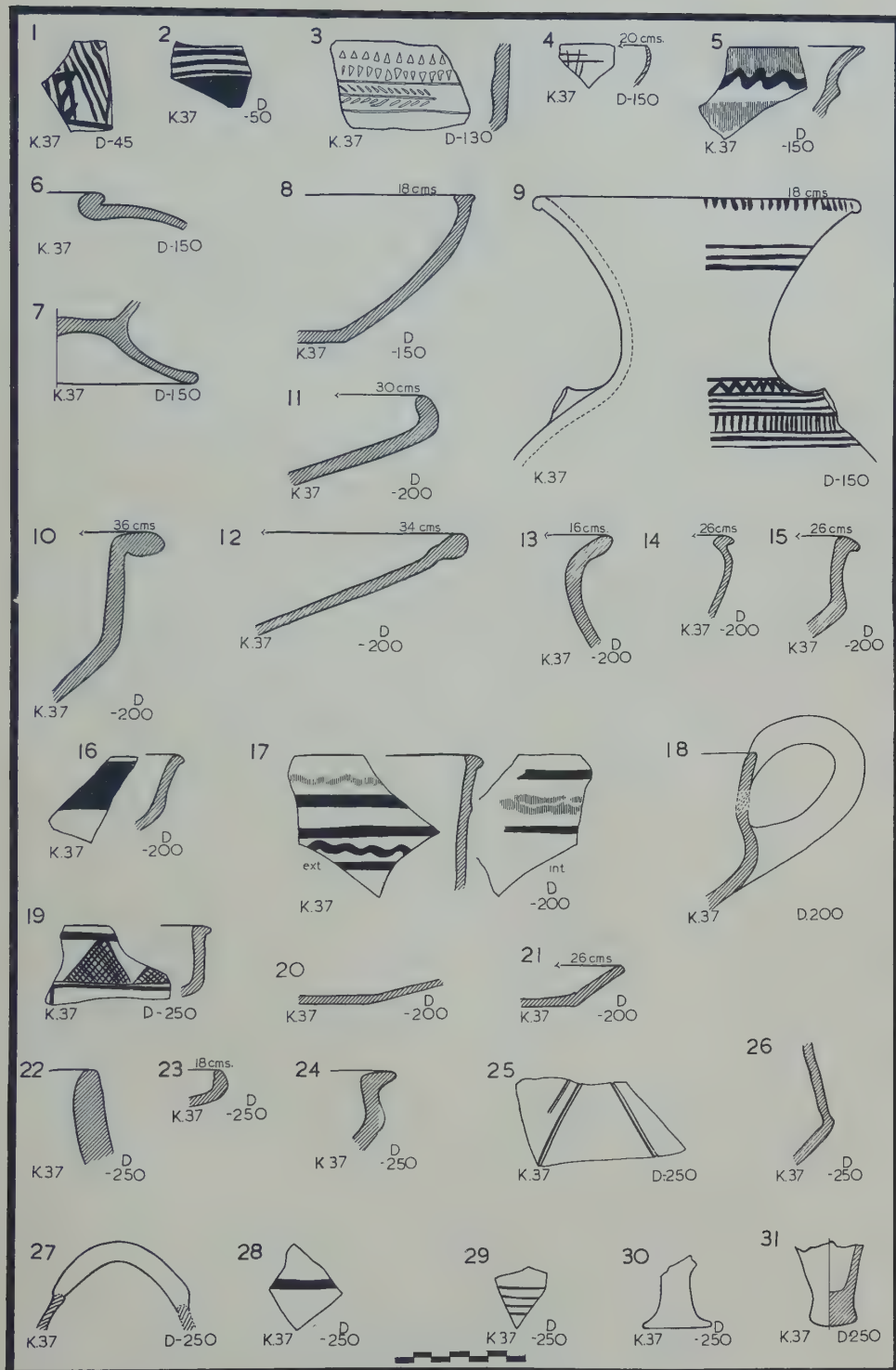
KAZANLI, 1937. PLATE XI.

- 1 Spout ; very fine gritless clay. C. Surface
- 2 Fine pinky clay with little striations ; small grits ; grey int. ; red semi-lustrous paint on buff slip. C. S.
- 3 Fine clay ; very small or no grit ; 3 bands int. ; black lines on buff ext. ; with dull red low down. C. S.
- 4 Similar to No. 4 but surface buff rather warmer ; paint similar. C. S.
- 5 Dark-red bricky clay ; gritty with holes ; dull red brown int. and ext. ; hand-m. C-30
- 6 Lt. brown clay with white medium grits ; brown bnd. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. (Hittite). C-35
- 7 Red brown with small grits ; lt. brown int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-30
- 8 Pinky buff gritless clay ; wet-sm. surfaces ; red painted dec. ext. and on rim. C-40
- 9 Similar to No. 8 but rather warmer buff. C-70
- 10 Pink ware ; red int. ; matt red ext. ; red to black painted dec. C-50
- 11 Grey hard pottery, very fine grits ; grey black surface ; wet-sm. ; sharp incisions. C-40
- 12 Red gritty pottery ; red slip slightly bnd. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-60
- 13 Fine pinky clay, almost gritless ; buff surface with dark-red painted dec. C-70
- 14 Very fine yellow pottery ; matt yellow int. ; yellow bnd. ext. with matt black paint. C-75
- 15 Brown grey gritty ware ; lt. brown slip ; wet-sm. int. ; ? bnd. ext. C-100
- 16 Pinky ware ; small grits ; compact ; buff wet-sm. surface ; brown to black paint, unevenly applied. C-100
- 17 Brown pottery, fine ; buff slip int. and ext. ; dark-red painted dec. C-100
- 18 Pierced lug on rim ; grey core ; yellow bnd. surfaces. C-100
- 19 Rim, upturned handle, red sandy core ; smoothed surface ; wh.-m. C-100
- 20 Brown sandy pottery ; brown grey sandy surfaces ; wh.-m. C-100
- 21 Pinky pottery, thin ; discoloured ; buff surface ; intact. C-100
- 22 Pinky pottery ; fine grits ; hard ; discoloured ; wet.-sm. ; wh.-m. C-100
- 23 Lt. brown ware ; large grits ; lt. brown to buff surface int. and ext. ; wh.-m. C-110
- 24 Grey clay, fine grits ; good pottery ; buff surfaces ; purple paint int. ; and alternating with dark red on rim. C-110
- 25 Pinky pottery, very fine grits ; fairly compact ; wet-sm. ; buff surface ; dec. matt red paint. C-120
- 26 Yellow clay, fairly fine ; yellow wet-sm. int. ; yellow bnd. ext. ; black paint ; wh.-m. C-120
- 27 Pinky pottery, fine, compact ; partly smoothed yellow int. ; yellow-sm. ext. ; dull red paint. C-120



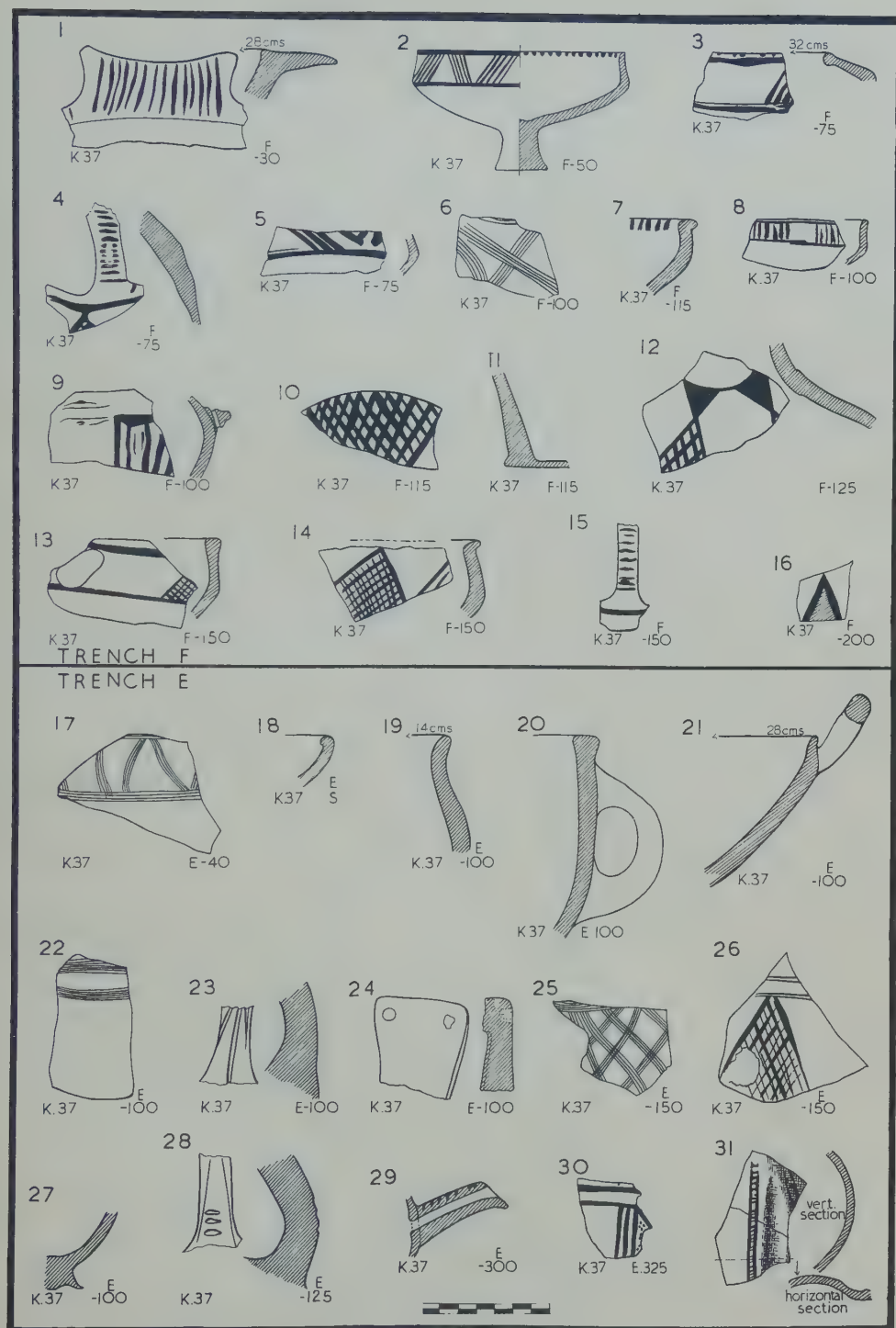
KAZANLI, 1937. PLATE XII.

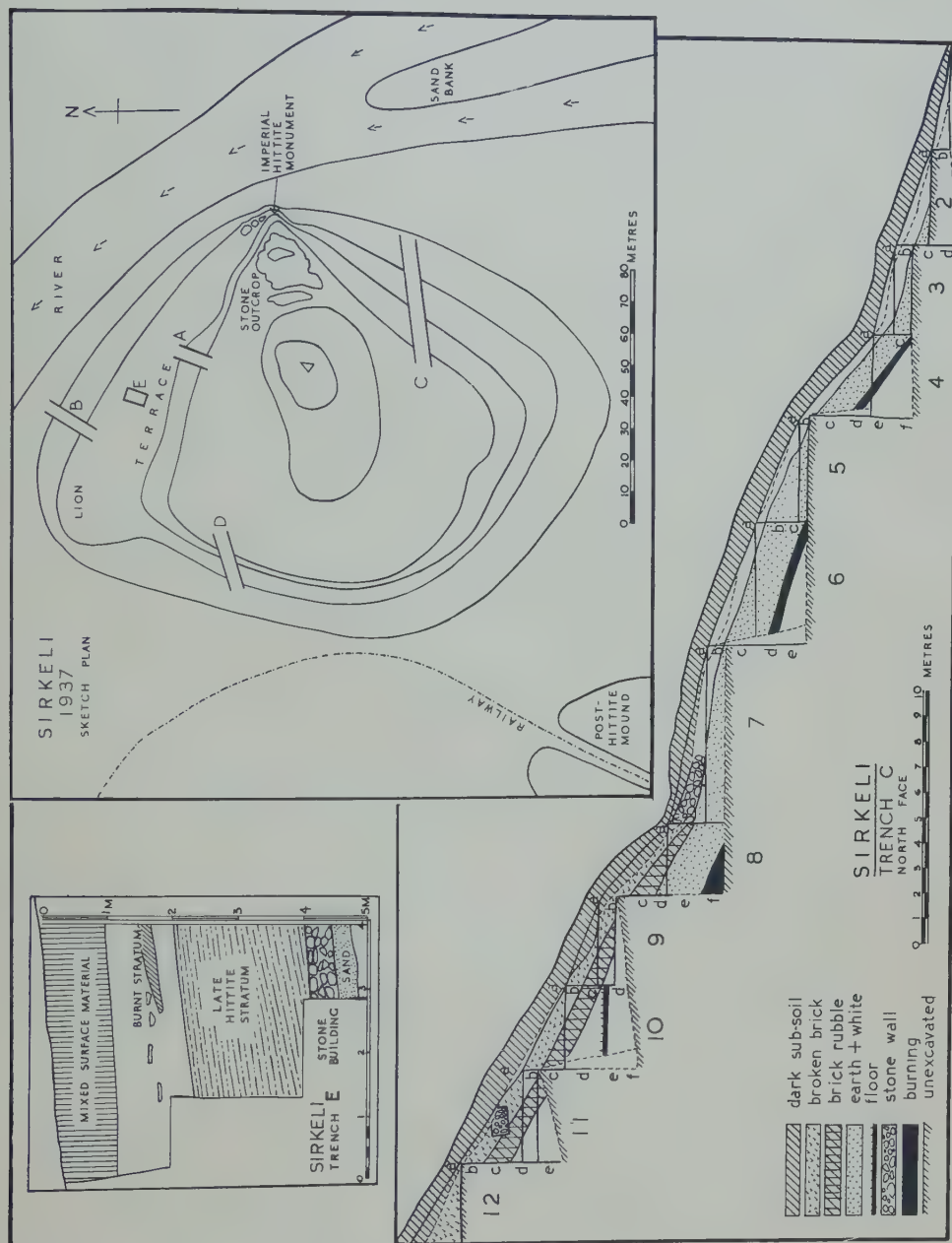
- 1 Pink pottery, few fine grits ; rough int. ; buff-sm. ext. ; very dark red painted dec. ext. D-45
- 2 Pink pottery almost gritless ; whitish ext., overlaid with purple painted dec. D-60
- 3 Lt. brown sandy ware ; few large grits ; wet-sm. int. ; dec. excisions filled white ; wh.-m. D-130
- 4 Grey core, lighter surfaces ; wh.-m. D-150
- 5 Pink ware, gritless ; firm ; buff int. ; smooth buff with dull red paint ext. D-150
- 6 Lt. buff ware, fine grits ; slip-washed int. and ext. ; wh.-m. D-150
- 7 Yellow sandy ware with patches of white quartzite ; wet-sm. ; sandy int. and ext. ; wh.-m. D-150
- 9 Brown pottery ; yellow grey slip ; black paint ; encrusted so no burnish visible ; ? hand-m. D-150
- 10 Lt. yellow sandy ware ; wh.-m. D-200
- 11 Grey gritty ware ; red bnd. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. D-200
- 12 Greyish red ware ; brown bnd. int. ; smoothish brown ext. ; wh.-m. D-200
- 13 Yellow gritty ware ; wet-sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. D-200
- 14 Red brown ware ; small grits ; brown-red surfaces ; smooth int. ; wh.-m. D-200
- 15 Pink ware ; small grits ; wet-sm. surfaces ; wh.-m. D-200
- 16 Fine pinky yellow clay ; buff to dull red int. ; buff with red streaky bnd. band ext. D-200
- 17 Pinky yellow pottery, almost gritless ; buff to pinky surfaces with dark red and black dec. D-200
- 18 Brown ware, white grits ; yellow wet-sm. int. ; brown yellow surface with red painted dec. ext. D-200
- 19 Warm yellow gritless pottery. D-200
- 20 Grey ware, small grits ; brown buff wet-sm. surfaces ; wh.-m. ; lines of parallel grooving ext. D-200
- 21 Brown grey clay, almost gritless ; yellow slip-washed. D-200
- 22 Grey gritty ware ; brown bnd. int. and ext. ; hand-m. D-250
- 23 Grey gritty ware ; red int. ; half red half buff ext. ; wh.-m. D-250
- 24 Pinky brown ware, mixed grits ; wet-sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. D-250
- 25 Lt. yellow gritless ware ; lt. yellow surfaces ; plain int. ; bnd. ext. ; hand-m. ; incised lines. D-250
- 26 Pink yellow ware ; lt. brown surface ; bnd. int. ; smoothed ext. ; wh.-m. D-250
- 28 Pinky buff clay ; yellow bnd. ext. with black painted dec. D-250
- 29 Yellow bnd. surface with dark-red painted dec. D-250
- 30 Pinky yellow ware ; slip of same ; smoothed and bnd. D-250
- 31 Grey gritty ware ; black slip ext. D-250



KAZANLI, 1937. PLATE XIII.

- 1 Pink yellow core, almost gritless ; washed surface ; large handle with painted dec. F-30
- 2 Pale buff ware ; mixed grits ; slip washed int. and ext. ; dec. dark-red brown paint ext. F-50
- 3 Yellow gritty smoothed int. ; self-bnd. ext. ; wh.-m. F-75
- 4 Brownish yellow ware ; buff slip int. and ext. ; painted dec. ; hand-m. F-75
- 5 Light yellow ware ; buff slip ; wh.-m. F-75
- 6 Yellow gritty ware ; wet-sm. int. ; ? bnd. ext. F-100
- 7 Pink ware ; fine grit ; yellow int. ; pinkish yellow bnd. ext. ; wh.-m. F-115
- 8 Pink gritless pottery ; buff surface ; black painted dec. F-100
- 9 Buff gritless pottery ; wet-sm. ; dec. very dark-red paint. F-100
- 10 Pinky pottery, some grits but compact ; buff-sm. surface int. and ext. ; irregular painted dec. F-115
- 12 Brick ware, some grits ; rough int. ; buff slip ext. with red painted dec. in two coats ; neck-fitted separately. F-125
- 13 Lt. buff ware, creamy slip int. and ext. ; ? bnd. ext. ; lt. red painted dec. ext. ; handle missing. F-150.
- 14 Brown buff core ; cream bnd. surface ; uneven painted dec. F-150
- 15 Pink clay, almost gritless ; thin ; buff surface ; dark-red lines on handle. F-150
- 16 Yellow ware with solid painted triangle. F-200
- 17 Red brick ware ; mixed grits ; wet-sm. ; hand-m. E-30/50
- 18 Pinky red (Hellenistic ?) ; broad band of dark-red int. E-S.
- 19 Brown gritless ware ; black to grey wet-sm. int. and ext. ; hand-m. E-100
- 20 Brown ware, large grits ; brown sm. int. ; dark brown to black ext. ; wh.-m. E-100
- 21 Grey brown ware, large grits ; brown wet-sm. int. and ext. ; hand-m. E-100
- 22 Lt. red ware with grits ; brown red surfaces ; hand-m. E-100
- 23 Reddish gritty ware ; brown bnd. int. and ext. E-100
- 24 Greyish yellow ware, large grits ; red bnd. slip int. and ext. E-100
- 25 Reddish pottery hard baked ; mixed grits ; ? hand-m. combed pattern ext. E-150
- 26 Rough int. ; dirty surface originally yellow bnd. ; dec. red paint and two incised lines. E-150
- 27 Brown sandy, gritless ; brown red int. and ext. ; wh.-m. E-100
- 28 Grey gritty ware ; grey surfaces. E-125
- 29 Buff pottery ; wet-sm. ; scraped along length of spout ; black painted dec. on top. E-300
- 30 Pinky ware, bnd. ; black painted dec. ; in line and stipple ; handle missing. E-325
- 31 Pinky ware, very fine grits ; wet-sm. int. ; yellow slip ext. ? bnd. ; red painted dec. one large modelled fluting. F-200/E-325

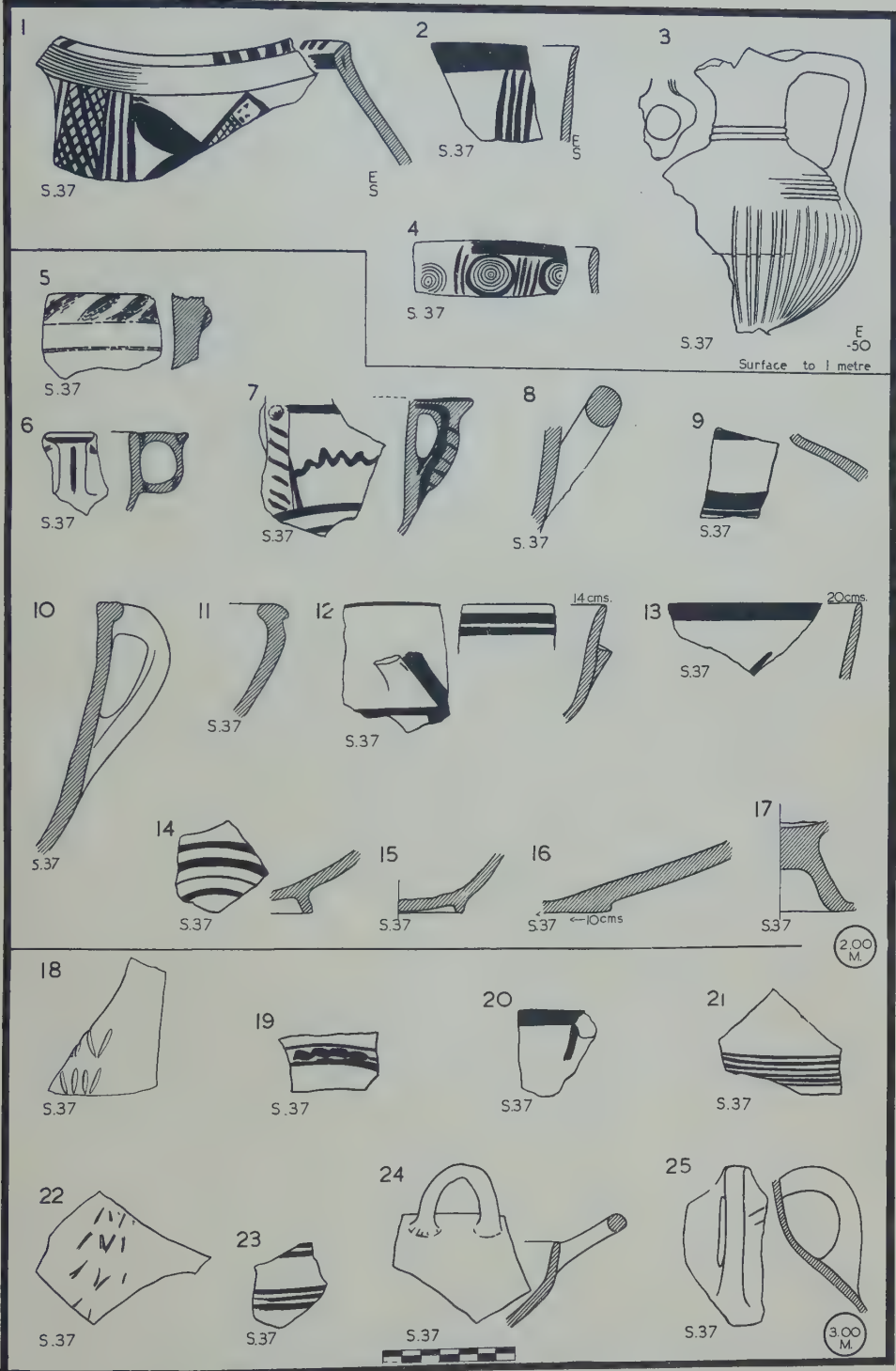




SIRKELI, 1936

SIRKELI, 1936. PLATE XV.

- 1 Fairly compact metallic pottery; small grits; matt red surfaces; not very smooth; black painted dec. ext. and below rim int.; wh.-finished. Surface
- 2 Fine compact clay; small grits; black paint on dark-red matt surface. Surface
- 3 Pink clay; yellow slip bnd. int.; washed brown ext.; angular flutings. -50
- 4 Pink red surface; fairly compact clay; black matt painted dec. Surface
- 5 Grey core; pinky red surface; fine grit; fairly compact; rough rope dec. -100/-200
- 6 Dark-red pottery; yellow red core; very little grit; red slip surfaces; partly blackened int. -100/-200
- 7 Yellow clay, fine grits; hard but not very compact; yellow slip surfaces; purple painted dec. -100/-200
- 9 Pinky yellow clay; fine grits; matt black paint, surface encrusted. -100/-200
- 10 Pinky yellow clay; fine grit; wh.-m. -100/-200
- 11 Pinky clay, fine grit; pinky yellow slip surfaces. -100/-200
- 13 Drab pottery; yellowish surfaces; fine grits; surface worn; dec. matt chocolate paint. -100/-200
- 14 Yellow clay, fine; compact; fine grit; matt red int.; sm. red ext. with black painted dec.; originally bnd. ext. -100/-200
- 15 Bricky clay; fine and med. grit; drab int.; matt red ext. -100/-200
- 16 Brick red pottery; small grits; compact; hard; wet-sm. int.; red bnd. slip ext. -100/-200
- 17 Pinkish clay; fine grit; probably wet-sm. -100/-200
- 19 Drab pottery; drab surface; matt brown dec.; worn. -200/-300
- 20 Yellow clay; fine grit; red bnd. surfaces; black painted dec. -200/-300
- 21 Pink clay, small grits; yellow slip ext.; black painted dec. -200/-300
- 22 Grey core; pinky red surface; half rough; hard baked; incised dec. -200/-300
- 23 Pinky yellow clay; fine yellow slip; purple and black painted dec. -200/-300
- 24 Grey core; fine grit; compact; red bnd. surfaces; handle rather irreg. -200/-300
- 25 Pinky red pottery; fine; probably bnd. slip ext. but now encrusted. -200/-300

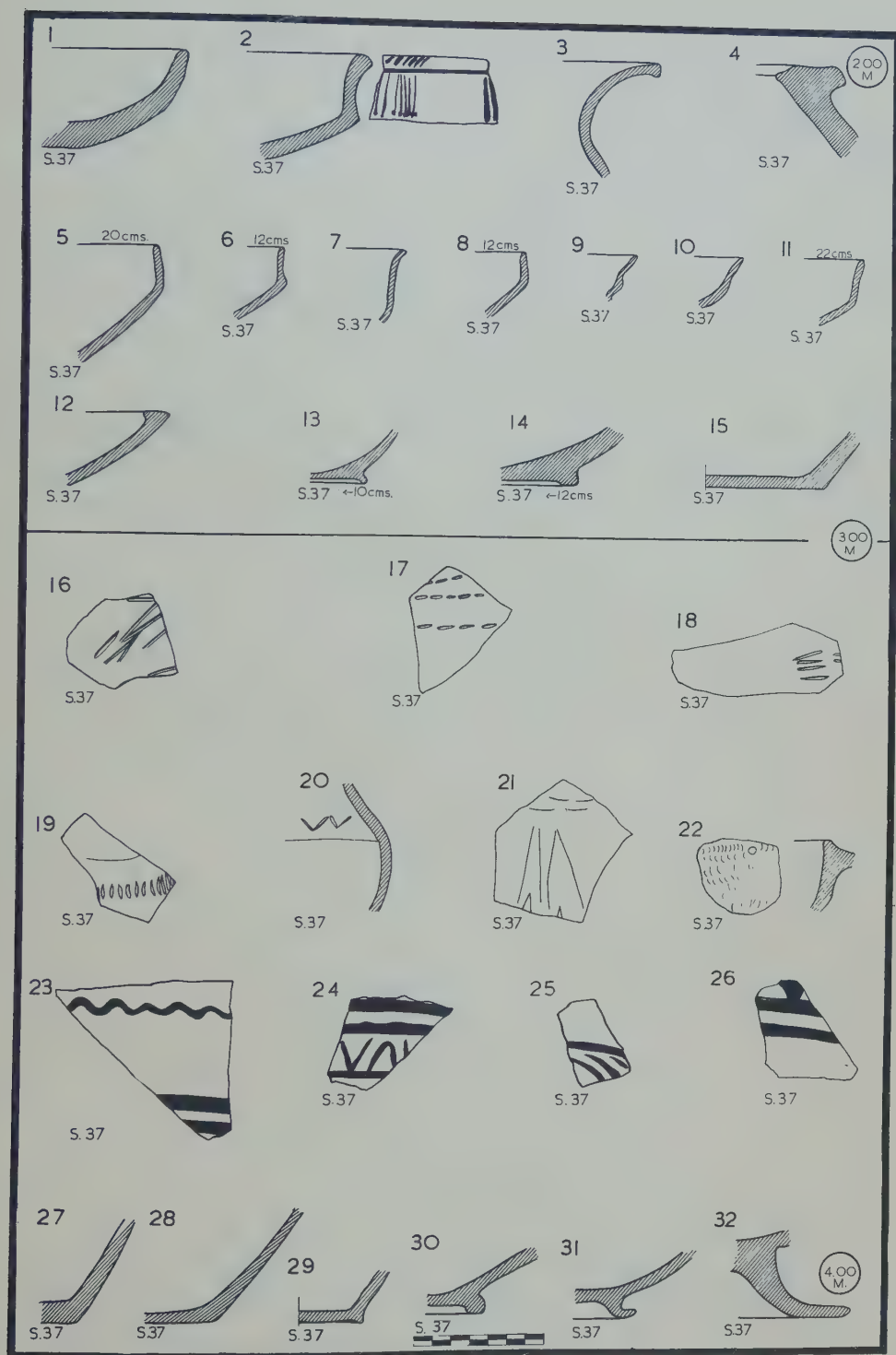


SIRKELI, 1936

POTTERY TYPES FROM UPPERMOST LEVELS IN TRENCH E
Nos. 1-4 ARE FROM THE SURFACE TO 1M;
5-17 1M-2M; 18 FROM 2M-3M

SIRKELI, 1936. PLATE XVI.

- 1 Coarse brown clay, gritty ; brown surfaces ; rather rough ; crudely made. -200/-300
- 2 Red brick pottery ; buff slip ; rather powdery surface ; black paint ; wh.-m. -200/-300
- 3 Brick red clay ; fine grit ; compact ; brown wet-sm. -200/-300
- 4 Reddish clay, fired black ; rather buff ext. ; painted and bnd. rim ; wh.-m. -200/-300
- 5 Grey core ; red bnd. surfaces ; dark grey, ? painted and bnd. in rings int. and over rim ext. -200/-300
- 6 Pinky yellow clay ; fine grits ; tending to brown ext. ; traces bnd. int. -200/-300
- 7 Drab ware ; wet-sm. -200/-300
- 8 Similar but rather paler than No. 6 ; yellow-brown bnd. slip. -200/-300
- 9 Brown red bnd. ware. -200/-300
- 10 Same as No. 9. -200/-300
- 11 Pinky yellow clay ; paler int. ; pebble bnd. -200/-300
- 12 Reddish clay, fine grits ; compact ; tiny latent striations ; red bnd. slip ; red blotchy ext. -200/-300
- 13 Pink ware ; pink surfaces but much discoloured. -200/-300
- 14 Dark yellow clay ; mixed grits ; surface rather worn. -200/-300
- 15 Pinky red compact ware ; hard ; roughly finished int. -200/-300
- 16 Grey core, reddish int. ; brown wet-sm. ext. ; hand-m. -300/-400
- 17 Grey core, lt. brown int. ; brown-grey ext. -300/-400
- 18 Grey gritless ; red int. ; grey brown ext. ; hand-m. ; (metallic). -300/-400
- 19 Brown gritty ware ; brown smoothish surfaces ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 20 Red gritty ware ; dark-red sm. surfaces ; hand-m. -300/-400
- 21 Grey gritless core ; grey wet-sm. surfaces ; wh.-m. ; dec. incised lines. -300/-400
- 22 Grey compact ware ; lt. buff paste with ? finger-nail impressions ; hand-m. -300/-400
- 23 Lt. brown almost gritless core ; buff slip ; dark brown paint ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 24 Reddish yellow gritless clay ; buff wet-sm. surfaces ; brown to black paint. -300/-400
- 25 Grey ware, small grits ; rough ; sandy ; yellow surfaces ; black paint ; hand-m. -300/-400
- 26 Sandy ware, much small grit ; red bnd. ; with black paint int. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 27 Brown ware, large grits ; brown wet-sm. ext. -300/-400
- 28 Grey brown ware ; light grits ; wet-sm. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 29 Lt. yellow core ; buff surfaces ; wet-sm. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 30 Red core, small grits ; lt. red int. ; brown wet-sm. ext. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 31 Grey core, white grits ; close ; red wet-sm. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 32 Yellow ware, fine grits ; compact ; red painted surfaces. -300/-400

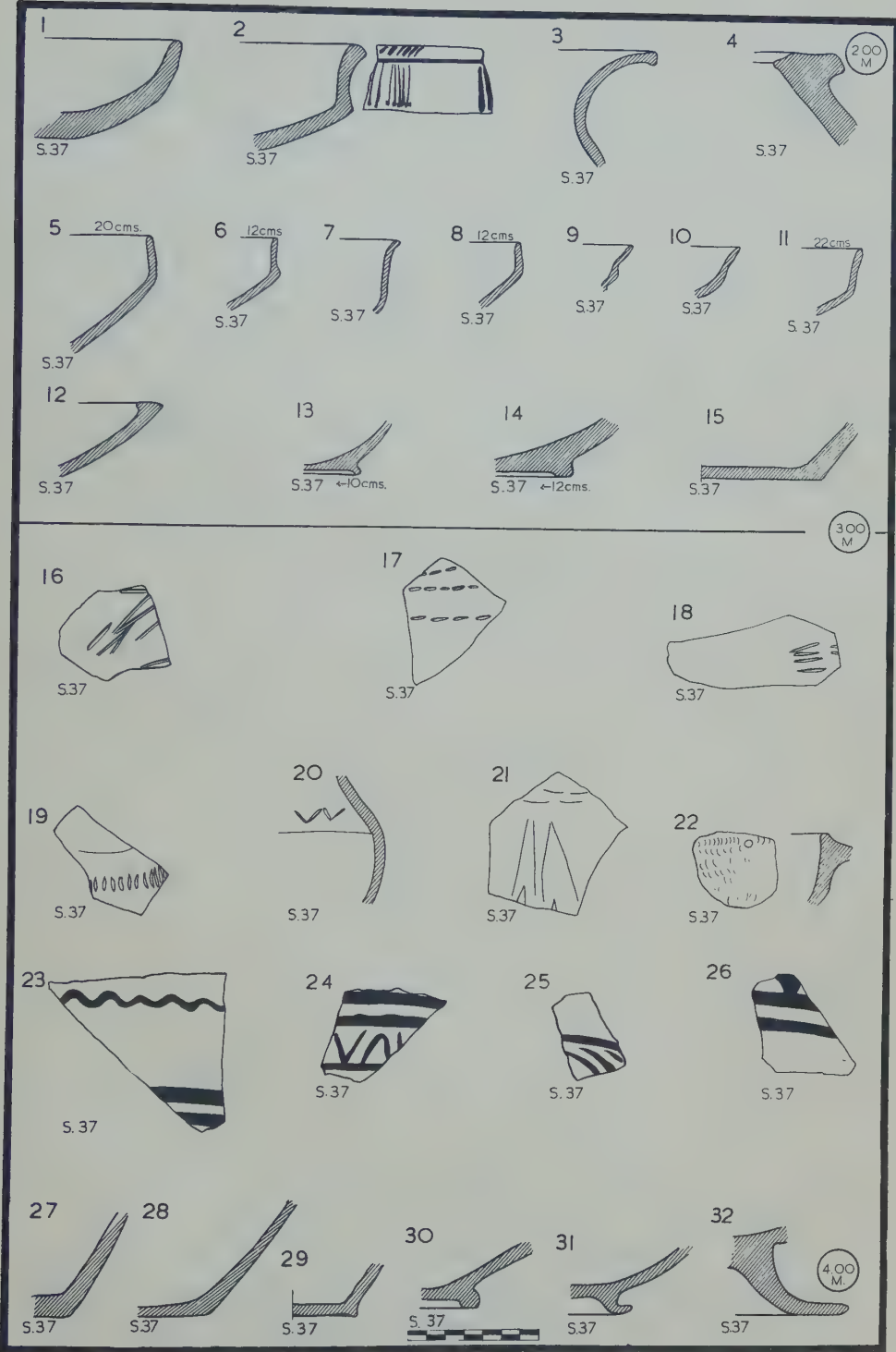


SIRKELI, 1936

POTTERY TYPES FROM THE MIDDLE LEVELS OF TRENCH E
Nos. 1-15 ARE FROM 2M TO 3M; 16-32 FROM 3M-4M

SIRKELI, 1936. PLATE XVI.

- 1 Coarse brown clay, gritty ; brown surfaces ; rather rough ; crudely made. -200/-300
- 2 Red brick pottery ; buff slip ; rather powdery surface ; black paint ; wh.-m. -200/-300
- 3 Brick red clay ; fine grit ; compact ; brown wet-sm. -200/-300
- 4 Reddish clay, fired black ; rather buff ext. ; painted and bnd. rim ; wh.-m. -200/-300
- 5 Grey core ; red bnd. surfaces ; dark grey, ? painted and bnd. in rings int. and over rim ext. -200/-300
- 6 Pinky yellow clay ; fine grits ; tending to brown ext. ; traces bnd. int. -200/-300
- 7 Drab ware ; wet-sm. -200/-300
- 8 Similar but rather paler than No. 6 ; yellow-brown bnd. slip. -200/-300
- 9 Brown red bnd. ware. -200/-300
- 10 Same as No. 9. -200/-300
- 11 Pinky yellow clay ; paler int. ; pebble bnd. -200/-300
- 12 Reddish clay, fine grits ; compact ; tiny latent striations ; red bnd. slip ; red blotchy ext. -200/-300
- 13 Pink ware ; pink surfaces but much discoloured. -200/-300
- 14 Dark yellow clay ; mixed grits ; surface rather worn. -200/-300
- 15 Pinky red compact ware ; hard ; roughly finished int. -200/-300
- 16 Grey core, reddish int. ; brown wet-sm. ext. ; hand-m. -300/-400
- 17 Grey core, lt. brown int. ; brown-grey ext. -300/-400
- 18 Grey gritless ; red int. ; grey brown ext. ; hand-m. ; (metallic). -300/-400
- 19 Brown gritty ware ; brown smoothish surfaces ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 20 Red gritty ware ; dark-red sm. surfaces ; hand-m. -300/-400
- 21 Grey gritless core ; grey wet-sm. surfaces ; wh.-m. ; dec. incised lines. -300/-400
- 22 Grey compact ware ; lt. buff paste with ? finger-nail impressions ; hand-m. -300/-400
- 23 Lt. brown almost gritless core ; buff slip ; dark brown paint ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 24 Reddish yellow gritless clay ; buff wet-sm. surfaces ; brown to black paint. -300/-400
- 25 Grey ware, small grits ; rough ; sandy ; yellow surfaces ; black paint ; hand-m. -300/-400
- 26 Sandy ware, much small grit ; red bnd. ; with black paint int. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 27 Brown ware, large grits ; brown wet-sm. ext. -300/-400
- 28 Grey brown ware ; light grits ; wet-sm. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 29 Lt. yellow core ; buff surfaces ; wet-sm. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 30 Red core, small grits ; lt. red int. ; brown wet-sm. ext. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 31 Grey core, white grits ; close ; red wet-sm. ; wh.-m. -300/-400
- 32 Yellow ware, fine grits ; compact ; red painted surfaces. -300/-400

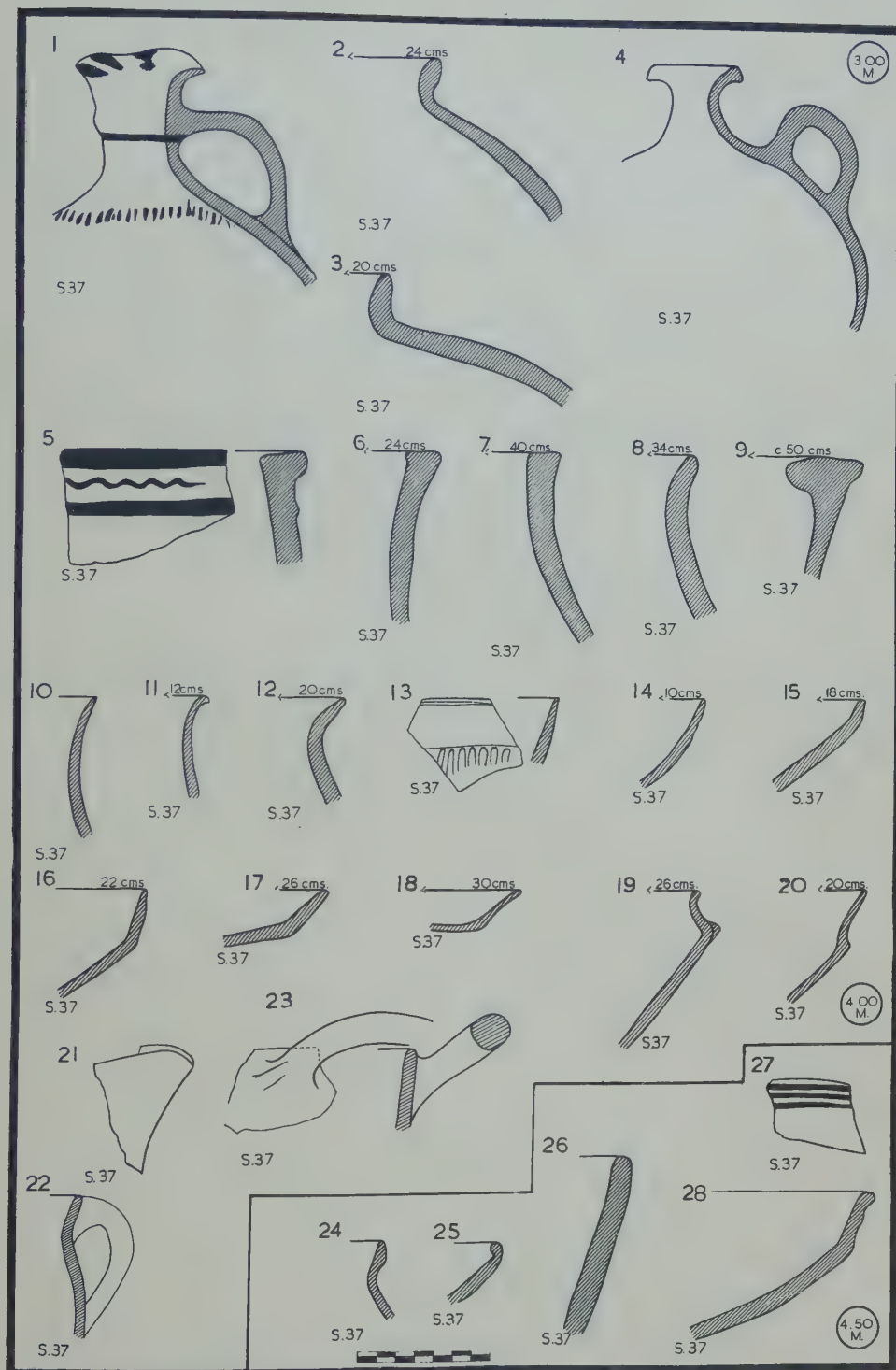


SIRKELI, 1936

POTTERY TYPES FROM THE MIDDLE LEVELS OF TRENCH E
Nos. 1-15 ARE FROM 2M TO 3M; 16-32 FROM 3M-4M

SIRKELI, 1936. PLATE XVII.

- 1 Hard pottery, grey core, pinky yellow surface, few small grits, hard ; smoothish, possibly bnd.; irregularly incised with blunt tool. 300/400
- 2 Red ware, mixed grits ; dark brown int. ; brown red wet-sm. ext. ; wh.-finished. 300/400
- 3 Grey core, large grits ; brown surfaces, wet-sm. ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 4 Yellow-red clay, yellow int. ; red bnd. slip ext. ; partly divided handle. 300/400
- 5 Lt. brown core, almost gritless ; buff slip int. and ext. ; wet-sm. ; dark-brown paint int. and ext. ; wh.-m. Cf. Pl. XVI, no. 23. 300/400
- 6 Heavy hard pottery ; grey core ; black surface, fairly sm. 300/400
- 7 Coarse gritty pottery, grey red core ; roughish brown surface ; ? wh.-fin. 300/400
- 8 Thick brown grey core ; brown wet-sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 9 Red brick-like pottery ; coarse grits ; rough finish. 300/400
- 10 Dark grey core, white grits ; half sm. int. ; wet-sm. ext. ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 11 Grey core, white grits ; brown wet-sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 12 Same as No. 11. 300/400
- 13 Lt. brown ware, no grits ; brown bnd. ext. ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 14 Grey core with grits ; brown int. ; grey-brown uneven ext. ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 15 Grey core ; small grits ; brown wet-sm. int. and ext. ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 17 Grey gritty ware ; brown bnd. surfaces ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 18 Brown red core ; grey grits ; brown bnd. surfaces ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 19 Brown clay, white grits ; red slip int. and ext. ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 20 Brown almost gritless clay ; lt. brown bnd. surfaces ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 21 Spout ; red clay ; small grits ; grey sm. surfaces. 300/400
- 22 Yellow-brown gritty ware ; brown un-sm. surfaces ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 23 Dark grey ware ; brown-grey wet-sm. surfaces ; wh.-m. 300/400
- 24 Red ware with grits ; brown grey int. ; darker ext. ; wh.-m. -400/-450
- 25 Brick red ware, small grits ; red bnd. int. and ext. ; hand-m. -400/-450
- 26 Red brick-like ware with grits ; red wet-sm. surfaces ; hand-m. -400/-450
- 27 Lt. brown core, no grits ; lt. yellow bnd. slip surfaces ; dec. black paint ext. -400/-450
- 28 Grey brown close ware, no grits ; brown unsmoothed surfaces ; wh.-m. -400/-450



SIRKELI, 1936

POTTERY TYPES FROM THE LOWEST LEVELS OF TRENCH E
Nos. 1-22 ARE FROM 3M-4M; 24-28 FROM 4.50M

and in the following notes is classified by metre levels. As the bottom of the deposits was not reached we begin our description in this case from the top, commencing with Pl. XV.

A general view of the three Plates suggests several successive phases in the local ceramic art. The uppermost is represented by nos. 1-4 on Pl. XV, and is characteristic of the Cypriote Early Iron Age, with the fluted vase no. 3 as a distinctive feature. The second phase, represented by nos. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14 and 24 on Pl. XV as well as nos. 2, 3, 4, 7-11 on Pl. XVI, illustrates the incipience of Cypriote technique practised on local pottery in which the Hittite tradition is still strong. This class overlies a pre-Cypriotic group in which shapes and decoration are reminiscent of Hittite types, while painted motives become rare; *e.g.* Pl. XVI, no. 23, and Pl. XVII, no. 5, as well as the shapes, Pl. XVII, nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 14, 19 and 20. The last group of shapes bring us well within the Hittite Imperial tradition; and with the final group taken from the level 4.50 m. (illustrated at the foot of Pl. XVII, nos. 24-28) we find specimens of Imperial date. Shapes like the big spout no. 21 and the developed ring base and trumpet-shaped base (see Pl. XVI, nos. 31 and 32) are equally indicative of the Imperial age according to our types established at Mersin. It would thus appear that on the terrace at any rate the Late Hittite period gives way about the second metre to the Late Imperial, which in the fourth metre becomes Early Empire. We thus appear to have located at Sirkeli a town site which was thickly populated in the Early Iron Age, and would seem to have been in full life already in the twelfth century B.C. This result is in marked contrast with what we have seen of the sites of Kazanlı and Mersin. The excavation of the great mound at Sirkeli would not only add to our knowledge of the organisation of the Hittite Empire in the period of the Egyptian wars, but fill in a gap which at present is far too evident in the archaeology of Cilicia during the Late Hittite period.

THE RESTITUTION OF 'THE GOLDEN FISH'

('[THEOCRITUS]' XXI)

BY A. Y. CAMPBELL

PART I: REINTEGRATION

'WER dies Gedicht dem Theokrit zutraut, der soll über hellenistische Poesie nicht mitreden.' Also sprach Wilamowitz: *Textgeschichte d. gr. Bukol.*, 1906; p. 84. The fiat had gone forth.

I happened to be reflecting upon these words about the time that Italy announced her intention to resign from the League of Nations; and I caught the following on the radio, direct from Rome:—*Il Duce*: Dentro? *Reply*, in good rhythm: No! *D.*: Fuori? *Reply*: Sì!

The piece is therefore now definitely ejected from the authentic corpus: see e.g. Edmonds, Legrand; Rose *Handbook Gk. Lit.* (1934) p. 334; or (the latest example as I write) a note in *C.R.* LI 57. It is ignored by (e.g.) Rostagni *Poet. Aless.* (1916) and Bignone *Teocr.* (1934). Wilamowitz also touched on a supposed partial affinity with the remains of Leonidas of Tarentum, but marked the absence of this epigrammatist's characteristic 'Schwulst'; and Legrand¹ here too follows suit, though it must be added at once that unlike W. he refers this conjectural attribution to its author, and that still more unlike W. he writes of our poem with some real sense of its merit.

Neither of these ideas did in fact originate with Wilamowitz. The question of Leonidas was raised by Brinker's conjectural attribution in his *De Theocr. vita carminibusque subditiciis* (1884) pp. 45-51, and was further discussed by Cholmeley in his first edition (1901); but the ban, for which Brinker refers to Fritzsche (1870 ed.), is, it need hardly be said, very much older than that. Its modern vogue is due ultimately to the high authority of H. L. Ahrens, who in his 1855 edition was the first to print the poem separately, relegating it to the position of *Incertorum Id.* iii, and who later in *Philologus* xxxiii (1874), pp. 595-600, detailed his

1. In his *Étude sur Th.* (1898) Legrand had inclined to rejection but left the question open.

case against its authenticity. But as early as 1770 our own Thomas Warton in his edition recorded his opinion that this was not the work of Theocritus; and a cryptic statement by Reiske, ed., vol. ii (1766), p. 271, refers to Brodaeus (sixteenth cent.) for the information that there were those who thought so even then.¹ The grounds alleged are various and many: literary (Warton, Brinker, Wilamowitz), diplomatic (Ahrens), linguistic (Brinker, Wilamowitz, Cholmeley). With all of which, and more, I will faithfully deal; but not now. My immediate concern is still that Edict of 1906.

Welches ist 'dies Gedicht'? Presumably the poem as it appears in this scholar's own Oxford text. Well, certainly there are things here, over and above all the items of W.'s own indictment, which one might well hesitate to father on the strongest, sweetest, and most elegant of Alexandrian poets. For example 32 f. :—

εἰ γὰρ κείκ' ἔω κατὰ τὸν νόον, οὗτος ἄριστος
ἐστὶν ὄνειροκρίτας, ὁ διδάσκαλός ἐστι παρ' ᾧ νοῦς.

Alas, I cannot concoct any one English sentence to carry all the analogues to the complicated clowneries of this; but 'if I am to express the conjecture which is *in the mind* [I mean by that, *my mind*], then I should say, "Out of sight, *out of mind*".' This represents, after a fashion, (i) the absurdity (here pointless) of describing as a personal 'conjecture' what is actually a very familiar proverb, (ii) the awkwardness of ending both sentences with an emphatic 'mind' when there is no logical connexion whatever between these two uses of the same term, and (iii) the helplessness of that *τόν*; perhaps, too, (iv) the inconsequence of my introductory 'but' *almost* matches that of this *γάρ* after 31 (*q.v.*); but I have here wholly failed to convey either (v) the quite peculiar limpness which that *τόν* acquires through being *in arsi*, or (vi) the *additional* awkwardness imparted to a *pointless*² iteration by the metrical variation *νόον—νοῦς*; or—as bad as anything—(vii) the crazy involution arising from the circumstance that an *ὄνειροκρίτας* as such is regularly in Greek literature one who *himself* *εἰκάζει*—this being, properly viewed, a strong clue which should lead an acute 'critic' with '*nous*' to the right sort of 'conjecture' here, as in

1. For ref. to further literature see the works cited in this paragraph.

2. Metrical variation to intensify a *pointed* iteration—an extremely pretty device—is, as it happens, much favoured by Theocritus; e.g., vi 19 ἦ γὰρ ἔρωτι | πολλάκις, ὦ πολύφαμε, τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται. Cf. i 8-11, viii 19, 41, xi 45, xiii 3, xvii 111, xxiv 73 f.

fact it long ago did. But then, of this sevenfold involution, no feature except (iii) and (v) accrues to this poem solely from the manuscript tradition; for εἰ γὰρ κεικάξω is a conjecture, and it comes from—Wilamowitz. Admittedly, the tradition here (οὐ γὰρ νικάξῃ) is not Greek speech and requires correction; and presumably, if your author is a declared Pseudo, you must be careful not to emend him too nicely. I should have thought, myself, that even for W.'s sense (if it were sense) one would have required κατ' ἐμὸν νόον; but, tut tut, this is Theocritean, it occurs vii 30 and 39, cf. too xiv 57, so we must mind what we are about. For all that, I call it not merely arguing in a circle, but arguing in a vicious circle, to emend a text foully and then disparage the result; and if the above example does not convince you that that is what W. is here doing, look at these next two. '10 τὰ φυκιδέντ'†τε λήγα†—vereor ne λῖνα prava productione scripserit.' This gross libel could not possibly be more baseless; apart even from the clumsiness of the change, the balance of the line shows the τε itself to be wrong; and the clear (as well as neat) correction δέλητα (Briggs, substantially) has long been in many texts and its demonstration in several commentaries. At 49 W. (*Textg.*) realises the objection to the sense of ἔλω, but this time the flaw is *not* imputed to our depraved versifier, whose very lax prosody would seem for some unexplained reason to have been associated with a proper precision in narrative. The fact is that W. has here an emendation of his own to print, ἀνελῶ, not, as you might suppose, from a hypothetical ἀνελαύνω, but a debased Hellenistic future = ἀναιρήσω; and so for a negligence presented by the tradition is happily substituted a more suitable offence imported by emendation.

But it is not a question of new conjectures only, the general editing is much too frequently careless and coarse. 9 τὰς θήρας (Ahrens) ascribed to codd.; 25 "χρόνου τὰ Ahrens"—no, Martini (*Var. Lect.* 3, 19), Ahrens read χρόνων τὰ; 16, elementary correction appropriated in circumstances which afford no excuse. (In the 1934 reprint all these blunders are faithfully repeated.) Utterly indefensible readings, long out of date, adopted at 14 and 53 f. And numerous outstanding cruces not so much as attempted.

Now even for ordinary educational purposes, I cannot myself see that this sort of thing is nearly good enough; fortunately, however, we have since 1927 had for this poem the much superior text of Legrand, and therewith his candid questionings and genial introduction. But

when it comes to handling a problem so material and so delicate as attribution ; a problem in relation to which careful and unprejudiced textual criticism is not so much the conscious preliminary as the bare starting-point ; and a task for which, generally and in any case, accuracy accompanied by sensitivity and sobriety must always constitute, quite literally, a *sine qua non*, then surely it might seem natural to protest that work of this quality, an approach on these lines, forfeits for the editor the right even to pronounce, much more to pontificate, upon such a matter. *Er soll über das nicht mitreden.*

It might, I maintain, seem justifiable to make such retort ; but for my part I would not make it. These ways are not my ways ; I will take a truth from anybody, babe or blusterer, adversary or supporter, fool or sage. And now I am going to take a truth from Wilamowitz. He says that the enclitic ἐστίν as the first word of line 33 (see above) is 'nicht hübsch.' For my part I will let the whole problem turn on that ; such a fault, for me, means no Theocritus. But upon one principle, at all events, the whole company of editors and critics of this poem is united in agreement ; the text is lamentably defective and some degree of emendation is essential. Next observe that W.'s attack is itself at this point inadequate ; he could properly have pushed it further ; the flatness is made still flatter by the immediate sequel of a second enclitic ἐστί in the same line ; the sentence would be nerveless even in prose, where W.'s objection would no longer obtain. Moreover in the following line all texts which give sense (but not, it is true, W.'s) have yet a third, ἄλλως καὶ σχολά ἐστι. Now suppose, first, that ἐστί number 2 should itself point the way (for those whose διδάσκαλος is *in general* νοῦς and who will therefore presumably be shrewd 'critics' as occasion shall arise) to a simple alteration of ἐστί number 1 which will improve, not the rhythm only, but the expression ; and suppose that for number 3 that very odd manuscript conflation σχόλλονται should suggest that the original was something less unlikely to suffer corruption at all than the very simple σχολά ἐστι. If *perchance* by these means this entire line-and-two-halves (possibly with even the preceding half as well) should presently re-emerge essentially intact yet softly purged of all offence, is there not here indicated the possibility, at least, of a more methodical and judicious line of restoration (I say nothing yet of attribution) through warrantable improvements which combine in flawless sense instead of arbitrary alterations which even so at times result in jargon ?

Well, you may say, and if we do abandon the vicious circle of proposing things like $\lambda\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha$ for $\lambda\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha$ in place of $\lambda\eta\gamma\alpha$ to suit a supposed bad poet, and embark upon the virtuous circle of proposing things like $\delta\chi\theta\omicron\nu$ for $\iota\chi\theta\tilde{\iota}\nu$ out of a pious trust in at least reputable authorship, yet are we not still arguing in a circle?

To this extent, no more, we are. And I am not going to plead that it is at all events a worthier effort; nor even that since the problem is naturally by comparison severely restricted and success accordingly so much the more difficult, such success *if* demonstrably attainable is therefore to be presumed the more likely of the two to represent a recovery rather than a fabrication. All I will at the moment maintain is that *before* we begin to dogmatise against Theocritean authorship we cannot either in decency or in sanity refuse that an admittedly corrupt text which its tradition represents as by Theocritus should first be given at least the *chance* of restoration upon normal lines, that is to say by the best standards instead of the worst.

But actually neither the virtuous nor, to be just, the vicious circle is wholly *circulus in probando*; each rests upon a more ultimate hypothesis, and the difference between these hypotheses is as follows. W. and his partisans base their case for unauthenticity, and W. himself bases his peculiar case for the restoration of depraved forms, upon phenomena of the tradition, and mainly upon the numerous late or bad forms and usages already presented by the text; *e.g.* (Wilamowitz and Legrand) 61 $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ 'for the rest' 'well then' 'now then' (Polybius and N.T.; add Longus, *e.g.* iii 14 and 18); or (Cholmeley) 45 $\iota\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$ acc. sing. post-classical (*Anth. Pal.* ix 227, by Bianor), and yet again only four lines below a different anomaly in the same case of the same word, $\iota\chi\theta\tilde{\iota}\nu$, a still more dubious form¹; or 9 $\acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ unexampled and strained sense. But these phenomena can be explained away; in any text they well might be, and in this notoriously corrupt text there is some antecedent probability that they are, the results of corruption—the attempts of the epoch or the culture to which they themselves, or many of them, actually

1. Cholmeley refers in extenuation to Opp. *Hal.* iv 44, $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma \iota\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \delta\delta\omicron\delta\sigma\iota\nu$; but even before reaching its fourth book readers of the *Halieutica* have grasped the idea that it deals with fishes, and the *scarus* was notorious; if $\iota\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ were ever added to its name (and I do not find an example; see *Hal.* i 134 and Mair's quotations), nothing can be more certain than that it was not so here, because $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota$ have just been mentioned three lines above; below in 49 $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma \iota\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ (cf. $\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\tau\omicron\iota \sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota$ 41) is allusion for the sake of elegant variety. In rescue work speed ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, same line) is essential, and of course the original was $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$; cf. of self-liberation $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}$ in 50.

belong, to decipher the partially (one may presume) obliterated text of the product of an older or more elegant society. I too, however, base my case upon phenomena of the tradition, namely the surviving indications that this poem was the work of a master; and such phenomena cannot be explained away; they are not the result of accident but of design. True, their existence may be denied; but to those who either can not or will not see them the general argument of this investigation is not addressed at all. The poem has not in fact been without its admirers, and such praises as that of Andrew Lang the Scot and Legrand the Frenchman arise from literary perception far finer and truer than underlies, for example, the notes of Cholmeley who murders the logic (cf. his unbelievably stupid note on 6) and misses the wit, or the comments, yes even the general comments, of Wilamowitz who is blind to the humanity and uneasy about the rhetoric. Across the almost continuous but mostly superficial corruptions the general excellences emerge with substantial clarity; the subject, the narrative, the tendency, the tone, and I myself would most emphatically add, the style, are alike admirable, and determine the work for a product of Hellenistic 'genre,' characterised by the vigour, precision, humour, wit, insight, vitality, pathos and essential though not obtruded sympathy, which one associates with the best examples of that type whether literary or plastic.

Apart from that initial assumption, the revision of the text which presently follows was made, and is here offered, on *general* principles, that is to say wholly without prejudice to the question of authorship; and alike in stating my difficulties and defending my solutions I do not propose, in this first instalment, to touch upon affinities with rival claimants at all. That shall be the concern of my sequel. In the meantime I should prefer the reader himself to form (if he cares) his own impression on that ulterior and broader issue, as based of course upon his prior impression, in the light of my presentation, of the general problem of the restoration of the text.

As to this matter, then: I have to begin with a request, and one which I make with some urgency. If I am to have not merely an interested or horrified but, as I desire, a critical reader, he can best serve the cause of scholarship if he will refrain from casting an eye upon any part of my text until he has first not merely examined my analysis of certain salient difficulties of the vulgate, but has also proceeded as far as he himself may feel that he can in defining his own independent impression

of the right solutions, or if not that, at least of the lines upon which solution should seem attainable. And first and most significant of all, one passage which I select as illustrating (eventually) the very material divergence in results presented by different methods of editing, the casual method hitherto obtaining, and mine which aims at pursuing all the difficulties to a finish. The poem after an introduction (1-5) on the necessity which Poverty imposes of incessant toil, describes (6-18) the meagre circumstances of two poor and aged fishermen, and then reports (19-67) a midnight conversation between them, particularly the account given by one of them of a strange dream in which wealth appeared to have come to him in a very extraordinary way.

15-18 Legrand.

οὐδὸς δ' οὐχὶ θύραν εἶχ', οὐ κύνα* πάντα περισσὰ
ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τήνοισ' ἅ γὰρ πενία σφας ἐτήρει.
οὐδεὶς δ' ἐν μέσσω γείτων πέλεν' ἅ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰν
θλιβομένην καλύβαν τρυφερὸν προσείαχε θάλασσα.

Now for that first clause the manuscript reading (here *and elsewhere* I ignore variants or blunders not to my immediate purpose) is οὐδεὶς δ' οὐ χύθραν εἶχ', οὐ κύνα, which is the Greek for 'everybody had a pot and a dog,'¹ though there are only two persons present, and certainly no dog, and no signs of a pot; and those neat changes of Briggs's provide a sentence of perfect Greek which certainly seems about as appropriate to this situation as could be. But one story is good until another is told.

Let us, however, first look at the last clause. Legrand's own translation is 'jusqu'auprès de la hutte, à qui elle faisait la place étroite, la mer poussait ses flots doucement.' But he has doubts. 'Je ne sais si cette traduction de θλιβομένην paraîtra satisfaisante. Depuis Reiske, on corrige souvent en θλιβομένη. Mais un tel qualificatif ne s'accorderait guère avec ce qui est dit ensuite des flots expirant doucement sur la grève; et ce n'est pas un obstacle aussi frêle que la hutte de joncs qui pourrait resserrer la mer.' All these remarks are as just as they are lucid; but the main trouble is elsewhere; it is precisely in those three final words upon which Legrand bases his main argument. Supposing them to be conceivable Greek for his French (and the renderings generally, *e.g.* 'the soft and delicate upflowing of the sea,' Edmonds) this part of

1. Not, as Cholmeley ignorantly asserted, for 'nobody had.'

the picture is ruinously out of tone. It is not merely that there is nothing *τροφερός* in the environment of these *travailleurs de la mer*; it is that this suggestion of a 'soft' sea, a delicate, dainty, indeed rather affected sea, destroys at a stroke the whole impression which the poet has been so carefully and felicitously developing, the impression of the barest and hardest of lives. It would be deplorable anywhere; here, as the climax, it is execrable. And anyway it is not proper Greek. I know no language in which the sea itself is said to swim (cf. Ahrens *Emend. Theocr.* p. 27); and 'to swim luxuriously,' as it would be the more graphic of a swimmer, is by so much the more perverse when applied to his element. And of course even apart from all that the whole thing is silly; what 'sea' is always calm, and what fisherman's hut was ever built where the sea (normally) came right up to it (*αὐτάν*)?

Chiasmus, *a b b a*, was an elegance of ancient style; but chiasmus itself is but a manifestation of a wider principle, the pursuit of balance; and it can take the form which I call 'triple chiasmus,' *a b c c b a*. Now observe.

In 16 the last word appears in the manuscripts as *ἐτέρῃ* or (the too plausible offering of the Triclinian) *ἐταίρῃ*; and it is (just) worth while, in view of what will follow, to draw attention first to the old vulgate, the Juntine *σφιν ἐταίρα* which lasted into Paley's edition, and second to Wordsworth's *ἔτειρε*, because these emendations show clearly how a reading which gives *sense but not point* may constitute a means of wrecking everything associated with it.¹ Ahrens's *ἐτήρει*, even if it were not paralleled by *Anth. Pal.* ix 654, is right because it provides the characteristically Greek witticism that these men's poverty 'secured' them, thus rendering a watch-dog superfluous. Yet even with that, nobody would here be in possession of the clue to the labyrinth if he were convinced of the truth of *οὐδὸς δ' οὐχὶ θύραν εἶχ', οὐ κύνα*. The mere fact that Buecheler in place of the *οὐδεὶς δ'* of codd. had conjectured *οὐ κλειδ'* with Kaibel's *ἔχον* for *εἶχ'*, and that he had been followed by Wilamowitz, and Wilamowitz by Edmonds, meant that the possibility of three terms in this sentence was familiar to me; and with my eye on the connexion of *κύνα* (*via περισσά*) with *ἐτήρει*, I suddenly cried, Oho, triple chiasmus. With that single discovery, of course, the following six corrections (five words plus punctuation) were virtually made, though naturally it was the

1. Is this too obvious for mention here? Well then, if only people would see it in the *Agamemnon*!

final sentence that was reconstructed before it pointed its way to the otherwise far from easy, perhaps impossible,¹ problem of the opening οὐδεὶς δ'.

οὐκ ἔδεθλ', οὐ χύθραν ἔχον, οὐ κύνα πάντα περισσά
ταῦτ' ἔδόκει τήνοις· ἅ γὰρ πενία σφας ἔτῃρει,
οὐδεὶς δ' ἐν χέρσῳ γείτων πέλεν, ἅ δὲ παρ' αὐτᾶ
θλιβομένην καλύβα τραφερὰν προσέναξε θάλασσα.

Six corrections, I said, but let nobody be horrified (as yet); for :—
(i) *τραφεράν* had been anticipated by Ahrens; (ii) I preserve *θλιβομένην*, which edd. generally alter to Reiske's -*μένα*; (iii) I preserve *οὐ χύθραν*, which has long been banished from the text; (iv) nobody grudges a punctuation, so I am left with a *balance* of only 2. *θλιβομένην* no longer has the (late) sense 'narrow,' but means 'pressed' as in (it so happens) Theocr. xv 76. *τραφεράν* of course = *γαῖαν*, and for *γαῖαν ἔναξε* see *Od.* xxi 122.

But—how exactly had the sea 'reinforced with an embankment their already concrete foundation'? We can guess; but with so lucid and precise a poet, why should we be left to guess? Moreover in the statement about their poverty, there is no word giving a reason *within* the reason, such a word as the following clause now presents in *χέρσῳ* (for which see II 2 in L.S.⁸—L.S.J. being not yet available there). Now what does the reader who is also a critic propose to do about these two points? Let him consult an app. crit. to see how matters stand. I pass on to a choice of six other preliminary diagnoses.

8 ἐγγύθι δ' αὐτοῖν] What, all that by their bedside? their baits? even their boat? 20 τοὺς δ' ἄλκις ἤγειρε φίλος πόνος] But see 61, 5, 28, 34 f. 'Phrase maladroite.' [Moi, je crois que c'est absurde.] 'Il est encore trop tôt pour se mettre à l'ouvrage; ce ne sont donc pas, ainsi qu'on pourrait croire, les exigences du travail qui éveillent Asphalion, ce sont les préoccupations de métier; et elles n'éveillent que lui seul.'—Legrand, with justice. 21 σφετέραις φρεσὶν ἤρεθον αὐδάν is Greek if anything slightly less elegant and idiomatic than 'they aroused speech with their own hearts' is English.

44 f. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὕπνοις | πᾶσα κύων ἄρτον μαντεύεται, ἰχθία κηγάων. That ἄρτον, since Ahrens's ἄρκτον a conspicuous and intriguing puzzle, is as it happens the subject of the latest (at time of present writing) Theocritean

1. I doubt if I should have solved it had not *Agam.* 776 impressed on my memory both the word and its corruptibility.

note, J. F. Lockwood in *C.R.* LI 56. As against ἄρκτον he protests, as anybody except its author (and the author of an amendment) would, that not 'every' dog dreams of bear. What then does every dog dream of? The answer is bread. 'Verum quis audivit canes, et quidem omnes canes, de pane somnari?' asked Briggs 116 years ago, with much more reason than Mr. Lockwood. What makes the wonderful difference? As usual, a new 'parallel.' Mr. Lockwood can produce a citation, or if you go late enough (and why ever not, I wonder) two citations, which indicate that a Greek dog's domestic diet regularly included bread. So the next time you find your sleeping Rover twitching or whimpering on the hearth-rug, you will know that he is endeavouring to overtake a dog-biscuit which, inside his dream, he has with true canine instinct 'vaticinated.' Once again, why assume that the author of this undeniably pleasing and clever poem was an imbecile? Hunter must correspond to hunter *as* hunter, not as eater; and see how closely the proverb as embodied by Aeschylus at *Eum.* 131 f. corresponds to the situation and terms of our poem; ὅναρ διώκεις θήρα (there, that is our clue for ἄρκτον), κλαγγαίνεις δ' ἄπερ | κύων μέριμναν (cf. 3 of our piece) οὐποτ' ἐκλείπων πόνου (cf. 2 and 39 of our piece). I suspect that some day yet *μαντεύεται* (about which Cholmeley makes a sound comment) will be defended by comparison of the converse transference at *Agam.* 1093 f., 1184 f.; but not every metaphor is convertible, and I here seek to deprive such defence in future of the charm of novelty because I am certain that it has no other merit. ἄρκτον is a 'sitter' ('dog after bear' is of course much more an Elizabethan association than a Greek), but to recast the remainder of this sentence in a form which while closely approximating to these letters (*a*) duly illustrates the preceding statement and (*b*) describes something which any or every dreaming dog may be reasonably *presumed* to do—this problem can hardly be called easy; contrast what I say of 58.

In *ἰχθύα κήγών* Meineke justly complained of the position of *καί*; I am uneasy even about its presence. And why the speaker only, when in the analogue it is 'every' dog? By *ἰχθύα γριπεύς* (cf. Theocr. i 39) this poet could have avoided all these awkwardnesses; yet if his readers have not understood as much by the time they have reached the preceding verb (whatever it was), what will such readers ever understand?

46 f., edd.

χῶ μὲν τὴν γκίστρην ποτεφύετο, καὶ ῥέεν αἶμα,
τὸν κάλαμον δ' ὑπὸ τῷ κινήματος ἀγκύλον εἶχον.

If for the moment we ignore metre, there is obviously nothing the matter here with the Greek as such. But in 46 there is one thing seriously wrong with the narrative, ῥέεν αἶμα. We are working up the excitement and mystery for a surprise climax; at last I drew up a fish—and he was gold, all gold (compare note *infra* on 52). Now it is deplorable, first that such a fish should *bleed* at all (unless he also bled gold), and second that any physical detail of this particular fish should be represented as visible before the moment

when he suddenly emerges glittering from the water. That is two faults from the artistic standpoint; and now here are two more from the piscatorial. $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$ is false alike to the facts of angling and to its literature. Our old man has not harpooned a whale; if he can see the blood at this point, just after the bite, and a long time (the whole tussle of 46-52) before getting a sight of his catch, why, the creature must have shed in a moment or two, out of a hook-wound in its mouth, enough hundreds of gallons to incarnadine the multitudinous seas. Nor in fact is the bleeding of fishes featured in any ancient account of a catch, so far as I can discover. This puzzle is a very easy one to solve; do try it.

Yes, and in 47 too there is something wrong. Of course if what I have just said is true, $\kappa\iota\nu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ will be wrong; a metal fish is not a source of independent movement; but then I am an emendator and presumably almost all that I say is false. But $\kappa\iota\nu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is wrong for another reason; when did you see a rod simply 'bent' or 'rounded' by the 'movement' of a fish? The movement of the fish moves the rod; what merely curves it is a dead weight. *Nos quoque in Arcadia*, I too in my day have landed a bunch of seaweed or the other fellow's line. But there is much worse than that; assume, if you will, that this ancient heathen versifier was only half-articulate and could get no nearer to 'my rod quivered with his flurry' than 'my rod curved with the movement'; what is there here that could not be said, what is there but must necessarily be said, of every wide-awake rodsman playing any natural fish? The fact is, $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$ also is unsound. What exactly it was that had a quite peculiar effect on the rod is precisely what we are not to learn until line 52; what it was, in a general way, that made the rod curve—who now, after lines 44, 45, 46, requires to be told that?¹ What we are now to hear is, of course, the nature of the peculiar effect. And finally, the line has no caesura. This puzzle is not quite so easy.

58. Here they make a terrible fuss; 'a hopeless line' says Cholmeley; and so they proceed to multiply impossibilities. There is only one hard step, and it had already been taken. For the rest, anyone decently well-informed about matters maritime in antiquity should find ideal sense (to say no more than that) practically staring him in the face.

I now present my revised text, with critical notes and translation. In many places I silently adopt corrections which, though still excluded from the vulgate, had previously been accepted by at least one editor. I make no attempt to secure absolute consistency of dialectical forms.

1. I here, in fact, follow the principle indicated in my note on *Agam.* 412 'narratio pergit.' The contrary principle, to repeat what is already somewhere in the context, is the regular resort of the interpolator, as of his modern counterpart the mechanical emendator.

ΑΛΙΕΙΣ

- Ἄ πενία, Διόφαντε, μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει,
 αὐτομαθὰς μόχθοιο διδάσκαλος· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὔδειν
 ἀνδράσιν ἐργατίναισι πυκναὶ παρέχοντι μέριμναι.
 καὶ ὀλίγα νύσταξις ἐπιβρίσσησί τιν' εὐπνους,
 αἰφνίδιον θορυβεῦσιν ἐφιστάμεναι μελεδῶναι. 5
- ἰχθύος ἀγρευτῆρες ὁμῶς δύο κεῖντο γέροντες,
 στρωσάμενοι βρύον αὖτον ὑπὸ πλεκταῖς καλύβαισι,
 κεκλιμένοι τοίχῳ ποτὶ φυλλίνῳ· ἐγγύθι δ' αὐλᾶς
 κεῖτο τὰ τοῖς θηρῶσιν ἀθύρματα, τοὶ καλαθίσκοι,
 τοὶ κάλαμοι, τᾶγκιστρα, τὰ φυκίοντα δέλητα, 10
 ὀρμιαὶ κύρτοι τε καὶ ἐκ σχοίνων λαβύρινοι,
 μῆρινοι, κῶπαι, γέρρων ἐπ' ἐρείσμασι λέμβος.
 νέρθεν τὰς κεφαλᾶς φορμός βράχυν· εἶμα τάπης σφι.
 οὗτος τοῖς μελέοισιν ὁ πᾶς στόλος, οὗτος ὁ πλούτος.
 οὐκ ἔδεθλ', οὐ κύθραν ἔχον, οὐ κύνα· πάντα περισσά 15
 ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τήνοισ' ἀγρία πενία σφας ἐτήρει,
 οὐδεῖς δ' ἐν χέρσῳ γείτων· πολὺ δὲ παρ' αὐτᾶ
 θλιβομένην καλύβα τραφερὴν προσέναξε θύλασσα.
 κοῦπω τὸν μέσατον δρόμον ἄννευ ἄρμα Σελάνας,
 τὸν δ' ἀλίως ἤγειρ' ἀφένους πόθος, ἐκ βλεφάρων δέ 20
 ὕπνον ἀπωσάμενος ψιθυρᾶ φίλον ἤρεθεν αὐδᾶ.
- A. ψεύδοντ', ὦ φίλε, παντᾶ ὅσοι τὰς νύκτας ἔφασκον
 τῷ θέρεος μινύθειν, ὅτε τᾶματα μακρὰ φορεῖται.
 ἤδη μυρί' ἐσεῖδον ὀνείρατα, κοῦδέπω αῶς.
 μὴ πάθομέν τι; τὸ χρήμα χρόνων ταὶ νύκτες ἔχοντι. 25
- B. ἄπφα, λίαν μέμφη τὸ καλὸν θέρος· οὐ γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς
 ἀλλοκότως παρέβα τὸν εἶον δρόμον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὕπνον
 αἰ φροντὶς κόπτοισα μακρὰν τὰν νύκτα ποιεῖ τοι.
- A. ἄρ' ἔμαθες κρίνειν ποκ' ἐνύπνια; χρηστὰ γὰρ εἶδον.
 οὐ σ' ἐθέλω τῷμῳ φαντάσματος ἤμεν ἄμοιρον· 30
 ὥς καὶ τὰν ἄγραν, τῶνείρατα πάντα μερίζευ.
 εὔ γὰρ ἂν εἰκάξαις κατὰ σὸν τρόπον· οὗτος ἄριστος
 ἔσται ὀνειροκρίτας, ὁ διδάσκαλός ἐστι παρ' ᾧ νοῦς.
 ἄλλως καὶ σχολὰ ἄμμι· τί γὰρ ποιεῖν ἂν ἔχοι τις
 κείμενος ἐν φύλλοις ποτὶ κώματι μῆδὲ καθεύδων; 35

- B. ἀδὼν ἐν θάμνῳ τύ γε, λύχνιον ἐν πρυτανείῳ·
φαντὶ γὰρ ἀγρυπνίαν τὰδ' ἔχειν. λέγε δ', ὦ κρότε νυκτός,
ὄψιν τὰν ἴδες, ἐσθλὰ δ' ἐγὼ μαντεύσομ' ἐταίρῳ.
- A. δειλινὸς ὡς κατέδαρθον ἐπ' εἰναλίοισι πόνοισιν—
οὐκ ἦν μὰν πολύσιτος, ἐπεὶ δειπνεῦντες ἐν ὥρᾳ, 40
εἰ μέμνη, τὰς γαστρὸς ἐφείδομεθ'—εἶδον ἐμαυτὸν
ἐν πέτρᾳ βεβαῶτα, καθεζόμενος δ' ἐδόκειον
ἰχθύας, ἐκ καλάμῳ δὲ πλάνον κατέσειον ἐδωδάν.
καί τι σπῶν σταθερῶς ὠρέξατο (καὶ γὰρ ἔνυπνον
πᾶσα κύων κάπρον μακύνεται), εὐθὺ δ' ἀνᾶγον. 45
χῶ μὲν τῷγκίστρῳ ποτεφύετο, καὶ ῥέπε νῆμα,
τὸν κάλαμον δ' ἀπ' ἄκρῳ χειρίσματος ἀγκύλον εἶχον.
τέως χέρε τεινόμενος περὶ κνώδαλον ἦρον ἀγῶνα,
πῶς ἔλκω μιν ἀν' ὄχθον ἀφαιροτέροισι σιδάροισ'·
εἶθ' ὑπομιμνάσκων τῷ τρώματος ἡρέμ' ἐνυξα, 50
καὶ νύξας ἐχάλαξα, καὶ οὐ φεύγοντ' ἐπέτεινα.
ἦνυσσα δ' ὦν τὸν ἄεθλον· ἀνείλκυσα χρύσειον ἰχθύν,
παντῇ τοι χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένον· εἶλε δὲ δαίμα,
μήτι Ποσειδάωνι πέλοι πεφιλαμένος οἰκεύς,
ἢ τάχα τὰς γλαυκᾶς κειμήλιον Ἀμφιτρίτας. 55
ἡρέμα δ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼν ἐκ τῷγκίστρῳ κατέλυσσα,
μή ποτ' ἀπὸ στόματος τῷγκίνια χρυσῷ ἔλοι τι.
κᾶκάτιον πίσσωσα κάλῳ τ' ἔχον ἀπειρώταν,
ᾧμοσα δ' οὔτι τὰ λοιπὰ ἂν ὑπὲρ πελάγους πόδα θείναι,
ἀλλὰ μενεῖν ἐπὶ γᾶς καὶ τῷ χρυσῷ βασιλεύσειν. 60
ταῦτά με κᾶξήγειρε. τὺ δ' αὐχένι λοξῷ ἔρειδε
σὰν γνῶμαν· ὄρκον γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν ἐπῶμοσα ταρβῶ.
B. μὴ σύ γέ πα τρέσσης. οὐκ ᾧμοσας· οὐδὲ γάρ ἰχθύν
χρύσειον εἶλες ὅθ' εὔδες, ἴσα δ' ἦν ψεύδεσιν ὄψις.
εἰ δ' ὕπαρ οὐ κνώσσων τὺ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ματεύσεις, 65
ἐλπὶς ἔτι πλούτου· ζάτει τὸν σάρκινον ἰχθύν,
μὴ σὺ θάνης λιμῷ κᾶν τοι χρυσοῖσιν ὀνειρόις.

2 αὐτομαθᾶς* [αὐτὰ τῷ]; Buecheler, *Rhein. Mus.* xxx 50, eliminated the senseless or misleading article; but his αὐτομάτῳ is, of course, ruled out by the sense of διδάσκαλος. 3 πυκναὶ* [κακαὶ]; will be discussed in Pt. II. 4* [κᾶν' ὀλίγον νυκτός τις ἐπιβησέησι (or -εἰσι) τὸν ὕπνον]. ὀλίγα,* νύσταξις Meineke; exquisite correction, ignored by everybody. ἐπιβρίσησι Meineke (-βριθ-), not Reiske (-βριζ-). τιν'*; there is no reason why the compound

too should not be transitive, and it is so at Oppian *H.* ii 467; but anyone who has a conscience about the matter may adopt Legrand's ποτ', though in three subtle ways it is less satisfactory. εὐπνοῖς* alludes to happy dreams; cf. Pearson on Soph. *fr.* 65, and my n. on Aesch. *Agam.* 14; the epithet here glances by anticipation at the main feature of the poem. 8 ποτὶ Kaibel [τῷ]. αὐλᾶς* [αὐτοῖν]; (→αὐτᾶς). 9 τοῖς θηρῶσιν ἀθύρματα* [ταῖς χεῖρεσσιν (or ταῖν χεροῖν) ἀθλήματα]; unless one should write θηρεῦσιν, cf. e.g. ποθορεῦσα iii 18, Fritzsche-Hiller p. 313 § 74; see Ar. *Knights* 864; antithesis at 14. 13 γέρρων* [τε γέρων τ']; no, I have not forgotten vii 17; nor v 121, xv 19; this risky change will be defended in Pt. II. 14 μελείουσιν* [ἀλειουσιν]; that statement was, of course, quite untrue, e.g. the fisherman at Theocr. i 40 has μέγα δίκτυον; it is therefore regularly mistranslated, as if τοῖς were τοῖσδ' (let someone now get credit by proposing this!); see further on 9 and 20. στόλος Ahrens [πόνος]; after that, how can edd. in this context read πόρος? but then Wilamowitz could even keep πόνος! 15 οὐκ ἔδεθλ' * [οὐδεὶς δ']. ἔχον Kaibel [εἶχ']. 16 ταῦτ, Döhler *Progr. d. Gymn. z. Brandenburg* 1869 [πάντ']; not Wilamowitz, as modern edd. ἀγρία* [ἄγρια]. 17 χέρσῳ* [μέσσω]; not νήσῳ (coni. Hiller), see 58. 17-18 πολιά . . . αὐτᾶ . . . καλύβᾳ τραφερὰν προσέναξε* [πενία . . . αὐτὴν . . . καλύβαν τρυφερὸν προσέναχε]. πολιά I. Voss. τραφερὰν Ahrens-Meineke. 20 τὸν δ' ἄλιως* [τοὺς δ' ἄλειψ]; once again, as at 14, the scribes will not allow us to forget that these two are fishermen; cf. my notes at 27, 32, 35, 54; poets, however, have other uses for their space; as I said at *Agam.* 412, *narratio pergit*; and for my singular cf. (my) 21, 36 f., and 37 κρότε. ἀφένους πόθος* [-ε φίλος πόνος]; cf. 56-61. 21 ἀπωσάμενος ψιθυρᾷ φίλον ἤρεθεν αὐδᾶ* [ἀπωσάμενοι σφετέραις φρεσὶν ἤρεθον ᾠδάν]; φίλον ascended, and φρεσὶν was of course the supplement demanded by σφετέραις; αὐδάν J. H. Voss; Edmonds's ἤρεθεν is not mine.

22 παντᾶ* [πάντες]; the other has admittedly the better brain, but our man is not an imbecile, and he has seen many summers; παντᾶ 'absolutely, universally, without exception' goes with μινύθειν and is placed here because it has the emphasis; for the sense cf. (my) 25 and n. on τὸν in 26. 23 φορεῖται Kaibel, *Hermes* xv 455 [φέρει X, φέρονσιν Tr]; you can't use God for a plug, and the vulgate <Ζεύς> destroys the balance. 25 μὴ πάθομέν τι*; [μὴ λαθόμεν τί]; edd. punctuate λαθόμεν, τί . . . ἔχοντι or λαθόμεν; τί τὸ χρῆμα; . . ., but neither gives any meaning; and cf. Ar. *Clouds* 1. 25 χρόνων Ahrens (χρόνον). 26 ἄπφα, λίαν Stephanus [ἀσφαλίωv]; a most happy correction grievously wasted on editors¹; Kohler was not first, see Ahrens *Bucol.* vol. I, p. lxxxiii. τὸν* [τὸ]; the reference is to the present season, in answer to 25; and at vi 16 (cf. καλὸν 14, καλὰ καλὰ 19) what is required is an object to φρύγει, viz. πέταλον* (→τε καλὸν). 27 ἀλλοκότως*

1. Ahrens prints his amendment ἀπφ', ἄλιως, upon which Meineke (Suppl. Adn., p. 491):—'ἀλιον dicitur quidquid eventu caret' [my italics] '... ἄλιως μέμφεσθαι non credo quemquam dicere voluisse.' Quite so; now look again at my 20.

[αὐτομάτως]; the latter gives a wholly false turn to the antithesis, the season has not deviated *at all*; if obliteration was the trouble, αὐτομάτως might have been the guess of some puzzled decipherer who bethought himself of line 2 before that had still further deteriorated; ancient restorers like modern are constantly offering words from the near or distant context.

32 εὔ Graefe, γὰρ ἄν Scaliger, εἰκάξαις Briggs (ὅς . . . εἰκάξῃ Scaliger), κατὰ σὸν τρόπον * [οὐ γὰρ νικάξῃ κατὰ τὸν νόον codd.]; I presume σοντροπον became τοντροτον, and of course νόον was suggested by νοῦς, for 'interpolators' are nothing but bad emendators and like them work just on the wrong lines. 33 ἔσται * [ἔστιν]; cf. e.g. Pl. *Rep.* 376 c φιλόσοφος . . . ἡμῖν . . . ἔσται ὁ κτλ. 34 σχολὰ ἄμμι * [σχόλλονται]. 35 κώματι * [κύματι]; 'what could a fellow find to do who is reclining on leaves "by the billow" (*sic*) and not sleeping?' Such a fellow might well get up and try to catch a fish or two. The scribes (once more, cf. n. on 20) will not allow us to forget that these fisher folk live *near the sea*. Well then, says the ordinary unteachable scholastic, κύματι makes sense, why alter it? It does not make sense, and its presence in this line is the reason why nobody has ever understood the opening phrase of the next—not even H. L. Ahrens to whose acumen that phrase is due. 36] I find that the reply begins here; others begin it at 31, at 37 after ἔχειν, or give all of 29-62 to the dreamer. ἀδῶν Ahrens (but assigning 29-62 entire to *1st F.*) [ἄλλον with a following ο suprascript is the reading of X, ἄλλονος (by inference) was that of Tr]. The Aldine, curiously, has ἄλονος. I have sometimes wondered whether the truth is not perhaps ἀδονίς, the fem. being used to increase the grotesqueness of the application. θάμνῳ to suit ἀδῶν seems to have occurred previously to nobody but Brinker, though the word had been (oddly) suggested with the then (and now!) vulgate ἄλλ' ὄνος by Le Paulmier; Ahrens himself adopted δρυμῷ from Wordsworth; codd. have ῥάμω, no word at all. Here is an exquisite piece of typical 'conservative' reasoning:—ῥάμνος (box-thorn, buckthorn, etc.) denotes a prickly shrub; thistles are prickly; donkeys eat thistles; therefore ὄνος ἐν ῥάμνῳ was a Greek proverb—for 'pigs in clover'? oh no, for lying awake all night. Tell that to the marines; or better, to prudent undergraduates. 37 λέγε δ', ὦ κρότε * [λέγεο ποτε]; cf. the well-known use of κρόταλον. 38 ὄψιν τὰν ἰδες Haupt [ὄψιν τὰ τις ἔσ-, ἐσθλὰ δ' ἐγὼ Kaibel [σεο δὲ λέγει] μαντεύ<σομ>* [μανύειν]. (MANTEυ[. . .]). Kaibel's μανύσω is the wrong word, and his μανύσομαι the wrong mood of that.

39 δειλινὸς Warton [-ον]. 42 βεβαῶτα Stephanus [μεμαῶτα]. 44 τι σπῶν σταθερῶς * [τις τῶν τραφερῶν]. (ταθερῶν suggested τραφερῶν when this word was still intact at 18). I know no sense of τραφερός except that which distinguishes land from sea; and it is in that sense that the scholarship of antiquity seems to have explained the word as 'nutritive' in contrast to the 'barren' or 'unharvestable' waters; τρώφιος is the gloss of Hesychius, and cf. Eust. 987, 59. At Aratus *Phaen.* 1027 τραφεροῦ as 'dry'

(G. R. Mair) has neither truth, point, nor even relevance; *τρυφεροῦ* though it would go better with *νομοῦ* is otherwise just as bad; these are all weather-signs, but here and here only is a detail that could not be observable; *ἐρχομένης* so read would have been assimilated to *φύλα*, and *σταθερῶς* 'with a steady flight' will (1) be explained by *ὄψιον*, being late they are hastening, (2) obviate hiatus, (3) form an observable contrast to the 'wheeling and doubling' (because worried) cranes of 1031 f. 44 f. *ἐνυπνον** [*ἐν ὕπνοις*] . . . *κάπρον μακύνεται** [*ἄρτον μαντεύεται*]; it is not 'for in sleep too' a dog hunts, as when awake; it is 'for dog too dreams of large game'; and another reason for *ἐνυπνον* is that though 'boar' is apt whereas 'bear' is far-fetched and 'bread' silly, it is not even then every dog that dreams of boar, some dream of *ἐλαφος* (cf. *Lucr.* iv 991-7). Still a third reason for *ἐνυπνον* as against *ἐν ὕπνοις* will be given in Pt. II. *κάπρον* perhaps became *καρπὸν*, whence [*]αρ[τ]ον*. 45 *εὐθὺ δ' ἀνᾶγον** [*ἰχθύα κήγων*]. 46 *ῥέπει νῆμα** [*ῥέειν αἶμα*]. 47 *ἀπ' ἄκρω** [*ἀπὸ τῶ*]. *χειρίσματος** [*κινήματος*]; a far smaller change than it looks; the word *χειρίσμα* means in general 'part manipulated.' 48 *τέως** [*τῶ*]; *καὶ τὸ μὲν χέρε* would be tolerable, at least for the author of 58 vulg., but with the asyndeton the emphasis on that article as first word is excessive. *περὶ κνώδαλον* *Junt.* (*περικνώδαλον* *Call.*) [*περικλώμενον*]. *ῥρον* (or *αἶρον* ?) * [*εὐρὸν*]; *εἶρον* *Junt.* *Call.*, accepted by Hermann and others, but 'die Verbindung *εἶρον ἀγῶνα* πῶς in dem hier notwendigen Sinne scheint nicht statthaft' says Hiller, and I think he is right. He adopts Meineke's suggestion *ἔσχον*; as a corruption that could be illustrated by *Soph. Ant.* 225 *ἔσχον* [*εἶρον* *recc.*]; but this verb is ruled out by *εἶχον* in preceding line. Moreover I have my own objection to both; the tense wanted is surely the imperfect; if my *τέως* is right (and see above) that tense is inevitable, but in any case do not both *εἶχον* 47 and *εἶτα* 50 make it likely? An *ἀγών* is an *ἄεθλος* (52) and for *αἶρειν* (take up) *ἄθλον* see *Soph. Tr.* 80 and cf. Jebb's n. there. 49 *ἐλκώ μιν ἀν' ὄχθον** [*μὲν ἔλω μέγαν ἰχθύν*]. How shall I persuade the hard-boiled professional expounder of those academic vested interests, our vulgate texts, that *μέγαν ἰχθύν* is corrupt? Nohow; I never shall persuade him. 'Big fish? Good heavens, what else is all this about?' But to return to you, reasonable reader. Think first of the narrative; *ἐδόκεον* | *ἰχθύας*; I was out for fish; then something with a steady pull (unexpected in a fish) . . . my rod bent . . . how was I to get the creature up?—it is obvious, it is what I at least call obvious, that the word *ἰχθύς* is proscribed between its use at 43 and its use with a fantastic epithet as climax, reinforced by asyndeton and position at end of line, in 52, when the mystery is solved. Next think of the writing; and if you can still believe that after lines 44, 45, 46, 47 (48 I must forego because it is bound up with the present issue) the author of those lines could have used the word *μέγαν*, then farewell to you, we shall never agree about anything in literature. Cf. n. on 54. *μέγαν ἰχθύν* was the gloss on *κνώδαλον*, and by a process, alas, only too familiar, it was mistaken for a correction

of the apparently unintelligible jargon *μιναν ὄχθον*. The dropping of *κ* from *ἔλκω* and the stopgap *μέν* are a separate affair. 51 *φεύγοντ' ἐπέτεινα* * [*φεύγοντες ἔτεινα*]. The vulgate *-οντος ἔτ-* (Junt. Call.) is bad; what scribe ever substituted anything so inexplicable for anything so easy? We have to deal, evidently, with a miscopied *-οντ' ἐσέτ. ἐπέτεινα* Briggs, but the creature is *strung up* already. To apply *further* tension, and, still more significantly, to *re-apply* tension *after* τὸ χαλάζειν, is *ἐπιτείνειν*, see Pl. *Phaedo* 86 c and again 94 c (metaphor from tuning *strings* of lyre). (*π*→*στ* as often, then *ἐστέτ-* 'corrected.')

53 *εἶλε* Legrand [*εἶχε*]. 54 The amateur who could end this line with *ἰχθύς* when he had already written *ἰχθύν* not merely within this four-line paragraph but as last word of 52, was not the artist who conceived and executed the poem which I am now trying to disencumber of clerical grime. The scribes (cf. n. on 20) will not allow us to forget that what this fisherman fished up was a fish, cf. n. on 49; but another objection to the word here is that it does not properly balance *κειμήλιον*; the *fish* was a — to her but a — to him. The only word that could have been thus corrupted here is one which yields an excellent point, *OIKETYC*; this of course would have been read as *OIXETHC*—and I should now be adding that the *ὁ* was eliminated *metri gratia*, if my eye had not happened once to fall on the *Corr. et Add.* of Ahrens *Buc. I* (p. lxxxiii) and observe therefrom that *X* (presumably less 'furbished' than the Triclinian) has *ὁ ἰχθύς*. 56 *κατέλυσα*] The circumstances here are highly instructive, alike on other matters and as regards the psychopathology of scholarship. The reading of codd. and edd. is *ἀπέλυσα*. Now, a fish hardly thanks you for unhooking him, nor is it exactly happy to apply the term 'release' to any act of capture; did this writer choose the inappropriate compound for the sake of the hiatus or the lovely hiatus for the wrong compound? If they understood their duty edd. would suggest an answer to that question; but not they, they do not even know that such questions arise in poetry, for the reason that they never think of poetry from the author's standpoint. To unharness, and therefore presumably to disengage from tackle—at all events to remove from suspension a creature already past 'release,' see L.S.J. s.v. II 1—is *καταλύειν*, and I was about to claim this correction; but just in time I observe that, according to Hiller *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte d. gr. Bukol.* (1888) p. 26, the manuscript C (Ambros. B 75, saec. xv-xvi) presents it. Now C in this poem and most others is derivative, a transcript either from the Triclinian manuscript or the Aldine edition, so that *κατ-* here can only be an emendation by its copyist; the reading is accordingly 'ohne jede Autorität'; it is therefore to be utterly neglected, and it has been. But across four centuries I take off my hat to its anonymous author. 57 *ποκ' ἀπὸ Brunck* [*ποτε τοῦ*]. *τῶγκίνια* Ahrens [*τῶγκίστρια* (cf. prec. line)]. *χρυσὸν ἔλοι τι** [*χρυσὸν ἔχοντι Tr (ἔχουσα X)*]. 58* [*καὶ τὸν μὲν πιστεύσασα καλὰ γε τὸν ἡπέρατον*]; *ἀπειρώταν* already Hermann *Opusc. V* 112, followed by many; a most happy hit; 'but ἡπειρώτας ἰχθύς

is an impossible expression' says Cholmeley, and in the circumstances he is surely right. Moreover I reckon that the scribe who against all reason here turned *πίστευσα* into a fem. p.cple. must have had something like *σα* (say *κα*) in his margin with the ancient equivalent of a *caret* mark, and have inserted it in the wrong place. The *μέν* might have arisen before that as a stopgap after *κακάτιον* had become *καίτον*, but it is more probably a *με* for *μη*, exactly as at 65, a suggested improvement, here suprascript, upon the *οὐ* of 59. In all this there is not the smallest act of violence; but you should see what others do without attaining even endurable sense. 59 ὦμοσα δ' οὐκέτι λοιπὸν codd. The trouble is obvious, and to meet it Brunck proposed ὦμοσα μηκέτι and Madvig (*Adv.* I 172) θήσιν; but both alterations are rough, and the former would want κῶμοσα which will jar with κακάτιον above. All that is needed is a bit of method. *θεῖναι* is impregnable; what will correspond to those two following futures is our aorist with *ᾶν*; and in any case *ἔτι* with (adverbial) *λοιπὸν* was a pleonasm, not too bad perhaps for some poets but clearly unworthy of the firm and compact style of ours.¹ τὰ λοιπὰ 'for the future' Aesch. Soph. Thuc.; similarly τὰ λοισθια—but no, I promised to ignore Theocritus. Accordingly οὔτι τὰ λοιπ' ᾶν*, a stronger asseveration. οὔτι τὰ λοιπά was glossed οὐκέτι and this word mistaken for a correction of οὔτιτα. 60 μείνειν Meineke [μένειν]. 61 αὐχένι λοξῶ* [ὦ ξένε λοιπὸν]. Adversity makes strange bedfellows, but can even adversity make your constant bedfellow a stranger for ever? Does one wake up and tell one's dream to him and then say, 'But do thou, O stranger, . . .'? The idea that Greek words did not really mean anything very particular remains, alas, extremely common; never did I conceive that after I had restored φρένωμα to Aeschylus at *Agam.* 830, the imbecile φρόνημα would be there again almost within a year. ὦ φίλε he said in 22 when he woke the poor devil up; but then perhaps they suppose he will be more distant now that he is asking for advice. Only Briggs, I think, protested. For my phrase see Tyrtaeus 11, 2 and Theogn. 536; in the former passage it is usually misunderstood, and by consequence neither the γὰρ nor the οὐπω get their proper value; 'a drooping neck' implies the same sort of thing in both places; 'are we downhearted, we, the descendants of Heracles and therefore of Zeus? No! who ever yet saw Zeus a defeatist?' It signifies 'bowing' the neck under adversity, acquiescing in the blow (cf. Ap. Rhod. ii 582) instead of continuing the struggle; 'hangdog' is our expression; its opposite, given in the Theognis passage, is κεφαλὴ ἰθεῖα, which does not, as some suppose, refer to the direct glance of one who looks you straight in the eyes (the contrary to that is λοξοῖς ὄμμασι) but means, naturally, 'with head erect.' Similarly *demissis ceruicibus* Prop. II xiv 11. (ξ→τι→π). 62 σαν* [τὰν].

63 μὴ σύ γέ πα* [καὶ σύ γε]; καὶ σύ γε μὴ Junt. Call. μὴ σύ γε, μὴ Haupt;

1. But the triple πρὸς δ' ἔτι λοιπὸν of *Anth. Pal.* V 178, 5 is too bad for any poet; read λαίμῶν = λαμυρὸν, cf. *ibid.* V 179, 2.

but this is a delivery of expert opinion, and the idiomatic $\mu\eta\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \gamma\epsilon$ without verb (*e.g.* Eur. *Ion* 439), and the repeated negative so unnecessary within so short and bare a sentence, seem to me too loose and colloquial; we must be less consolatory, more dogmatic; we must be precise, like the oracles of which this admonition is in part a travesty. There is, however, also a concrete reason; my reading only can explain that $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota};\ \pi\alpha\iota$ was accidentally omitted and then entered in the margin, from which, as often, it fell into position as first word in the line, in this case ousting $\mu\eta$. 64 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\theta'\ \epsilon\delta\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ *$ [$\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$]. Edd. with one exception follow the Juntine in printing $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, a negation which is of course totally untrue. Edmonds's $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ is a great improvement upon that, certainly, yet it remains liable to three objections. Two of them would be obviated by reading $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau'$ for $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, but the deliberate self-contradiction is far too sophisticated (too 'Euripidean') not merely for this blunt and shrewd old salt but for this poem. ($\text{O}\theta \rightarrow \text{O}\epsilon \rightarrow \acute{\omega}\varsigma$). 65 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \mu\epsilon\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \kappa\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ codd. Obviously the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is wrong, and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ is exactly the particle for those who would make the Second Fisherman only a degree less credulous and superstitious than the first; a dreadful thing to do. Reflection upon this problem will point inevitably to $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta'\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\ \kappa\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$, and having got that I found that it was first read by Callierges and is in numerous edd., *e.g.* Meineke³ (1856). Faced with $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$, somebody naturally substituted $\mu\eta$ for the first $\acute{\omicron}\nu$ and removed the second. 66 $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\ \pi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ *$ [$\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omega\nu$]. How could any other words conceivably have occupied this position? The manuscript reading I take to have come from $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omega\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu$, *i.e.* $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ a gloss on $\kappa\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$. 67 $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota$ Briggs [$\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\iota$].

Poverty, my Diophantus, is the only quickener of the crafts; by her native wit she teaches toil. Sleep itself may be withheld from the labourer, so persistent are his troubles; even if some time a brief spell of drowsiness may have steeped him in its pleasing phantasy, suddenly he will be disturbed by haunting anxieties.

Two catchers of fish were lying down together, old men both; they had made themselves a pallet of dried sea-moss inside their wattled cabin, and there they couched, close to its leafy wall. Hard by their dwelling lay those objects which to the sportsman are his playthings; the creels, the rods, the hooks, the baits of seaweed, the horse-hair lines and the weels and rush-woven maze-traps; twine, oars; and propped upon stakes of osier, a little boat. A scrap of matting for a pillow; but for carpet or ground-sheet only the clothes they wore. This for these unfortunates was their entire equipment, indeed all their wealth. Floor, stew-pot, watch-dog they had none; to them all these things appeared superfluities; their safeguard was their Poverty, and a savage one enough; on that barren shore there dwelt not a soul to be their guest; and the dry shingle, tramped solid around the hut itself, had been further banked into a firm foundation¹ by the pounding breakers.

1. I have to insert 'foundation' because $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\theta\lambda\alpha$ includes that along with 'floor.'

Well, 'not yet had the chariot of Selene attained the mid part of her course,' when one of those two, awakened, though to no purpose, by his yearning for riches, shook off the sleep from his eyelids and proceeded to arouse his companion with chatter.

1st Fisherman. They are mistaken, friend; they who declare that without exception the nights grow shorter in summer as the span of each day increases. Already I have been the spectator of ten thousand dreams, and it is not yet dawn. Can something strange have happened to us? O the length of these night-hours!

2nd F. Bless you, my dear ancient, you complain without good reason of a fine summer. It is not the season that has unnaturally deviated from her course; it is Care that by cutting short your slumber makes the night seem long to *you*.

1st F. Did you ever learn to interpret dreams? I have had a rare vision. I will not have you excluded from the creation of my fancy. As you are partner of my catch, so shall you be of my imaginations. I know you could make a clever guess at their meaning, such are your gifts. The best interpreter of dreams will be the man whose constant guide is his own power of reason. And anyhow, we have time upon our hands; what could one find to do, settled down on the leaves for slumber here and yet not sleeping?

2nd F. 'Leaves'? Nightingale in the bush, that's you; lamp in the Town Hall; those two things, they say, never sleep. But do thou, O noise in the night, describe to me the vision that thou beheldest, and I for my part will supply my comrade with a favourable prognostication.

1st F. Last night when I fell asleep after our toilings upon the sea—and honestly it was not from repletion, because, if you remember, we had had our dinner early and it had been a frugal affair—I beheld myself upon a rock, all properly set up; there I sat, on the look out for fish, and let down my line, and trailed the deceptive morsel. Well, something with a firm and steady pull took hold of it (every dog, you know, that finds a boar in her dream-world makes a giant of him), and immediately I began to haul up. He for his part stuck to the hook; so down sank my thread, and I found my rod arching right from the butt. For some time I kept up a struggle, exerting my arms to the utmost over the monster, wondering how I was ever to heave him up the rocks with metals that were over-fine; until at length, to remind him of his wound, I gave him one gentle prick, and when I had pricked him, slackened, and then, when he did not make off, drew in. However I did it, I accomplished my feat; I positively landed a *golden fish*. Covered all over, believe me, with gold; and I was seized with fear in case it should be a domestic favourite of Poseidon, or possibly an heirloom of sea-green Amphitrite. And gently indeed did I unhitch it from the hook, in case those barbs should carry away by any chance a portion of the gold from the mouth. And my little boat I caulked, and with a rope was I for turning him into a landsman; and I swore an oath that never by any means thereafter should I set

foot upon the ocean, but that I would abide upon the earth and, thanks to my gold, live like a royalty. So that woke me up. Now support my drooping spirit with your advice. What is worrying me is that oath which I swore ; I am apprehensive.

2nd F. Don't you be anxious in the least. *You* swore no oath !—just as you did not *really* catch a golden fish while you were sleeping. The dream was a delusion, neither more nor less. But—if you will explore these waters wide awake instead of asleep, there is still some hope that we may make a fortune. Follow after the fish of flesh and blood, my friend, or you may find yourself dying of hunger, yes even amidst golden dreams !

PART II : ATTRIBUTION follows in the next number of this journal.

REVIEWS

The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops.
By GEORGE ANDREW REISNER. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1936. Pp. xxviii+428, with two maps and 192 figures in the text. £4, 4s. net.

In this massive volume, the first of a series of three, Dr. Reisner gives us his considered judgment, the product of years of reflection and of an almost unique experience, on the results obtained by his own and other archaeologists' investigations in the predynastic and early-dynastic cemeteries of Egypt. The book is a veritable mine of information for students of antiquity and others who desire an accurate and detailed account of the developments which took place in Egyptian tomb-architecture during the first four dynasties, and of the beliefs and practices associated with and promoting those developments.

But there can be little doubt that even an experienced archaeologist will find the book difficult to read; he will be apt to lose his way in the mass of details and sometimes be 'unable to see the wood for the trees.' The most satisfactory way to tackle it is to begin at Chapter XII (p. 341), and not till that has been thoroughly mastered attempt the study of the preceding sections. May one here be permitted to say that if this chapter contained more references than it actually does to statements on previous pages, the reader's task would be considerably easier?

Among the many interesting views propounded by Reisner the following are, perhaps, the most striking.

He maintains (pp. 10, 349 f., 351 f.) that in addition to their 'tombs' Zer, Zet, Merneith, and probably also Menes ('Aha) and Narmer, were each assigned at Abydos a 'valley-shrine,' a filled crude-brick maṣṭabah with panelling on all four sides painted with mat-patterns. This shrine, he suggests (p. 349), has arisen from the temporary mat-pavilion (*sh*) set up immediately after the death of the king on the edge of the desert to contain the funerary equipment during the few days required for the construction of the burial-place. He concludes (p. 352) that 'in the reign of Narmer or Zer the form of the valley-shrine was adapted for use as the superstructure of the great provincial tombs, the multiple-niched superstructure ("the palace-façade maṣṭaba").' These are very attractive suggestions, but in the light of Emery's recent discoveries at Saqqârah they will have to be somewhat modified. If the great 'palace-façade' maṣṭabah uncovered there is indeed that of 'Aha (Menes), then his 'tomb' at Abydos can only be a cenotaph, and the theory that the maṣṭabah of the above-mentioned type was introduced

into the provinces in the reign of Narmer or Zer will no longer be tenable. Indeed it is the royal 'tombs' at Abydos that will have to be regarded as 'provincial,' not the great tombs in the archaic cemetery at Šakḳārah! In fact, it seems as though Sethe was correct both in accepting the tradition that Menes was the founder of Memphis and in maintaining that he made this city the capital of his united kingdom of Upper and Lower Egypt. Further excavation may even prove that all the kings of the first two dynasties were buried at Šakḳārah, or in that neighbourhood, and thus show that all the First- and Second-Dynasty 'royal tombs' at Abydos are cenotaphs, the prototypes of the Middle- and New-Kingdom royal cenotaphs constructed centuries later in the same locality.

Such a possibility makes one a little sceptical of Reisner's reconstructions of the non-existent superstructures of the 'royal tombs' (pp. 307 ff.), and accordingly somewhat doubtful of his belief in the prevalence of 'sati-burials' during the protodynastic period.

Reisner strongly holds the view that all superstructures of Egyptian tombs originated in the gravel grave-mounds of predynastic times (p. 358), the earliest maṣtabahs being only such grave-mounds improved by substituting a retaining wall of crude brick for the more primitive wooden or wattle one (p. 3). Worthy of notice (*loc. cit.*) is the remark that 'a form of retaining wall combining wood and wattle-work is suggested by the early wooden *grst*-coffins.' May not walls decorated with recesses, like the great wall enclosing the precincts of the Step-pyramid, be ultimately derived from a wood and wattle palisade?

The superstructure of the tomb of Zer at Abydos, as reconstructed by Reisner, forms a nearly square flat-topped stepped maṣtabah. This, he asserts, was the 'first definite step towards the pyramidal superstructure' (pp. 351 and 324 f.). Despite the early connection of the Egyptian king with the sun-god and the close association of that god with the pyramidion he finds himself unable to interpret the origin of the true pyramid as an expression of a religious idea (p. 340). But even if the pyramid is architecturally derived from the stepped maṣtabah, may not the religious ideas associated with the pyramidion have been contributory factors in what took place in the final stages of this evolution?

What Reisner says about the use made by Menes of the hieroglyphic system of writing 'in its primitive ideographic state' (p. 345) would probably not have been accepted by Sethe, who considered that there are good grounds for supposing that the *Denkmal memphitischer Theologie* is a composition dating back to the beginning of the First Dynasty, a view which has received indirect support from certain finds recently made by Emery¹ in the Memphite necropolis.

Future discoveries in that locality may well throw further light on these and other theories propounded by Reisner. But however that may be, the value of his book, as the standard work of reference on the

1. See, e.g., *The Tomb of Hemaka*, p. 41 (Cat. No. 432).

subject with which it deals, cannot be seriously affected. It will remain an enduring memorial to the writer's great achievements as an excavator, and ever bear testimony to those invaluable qualities of mind which he possesses, great powers of observation, a remarkable memory, inexhaustible patience, and an imagination tempered by sober judgment.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine (au temps du Nouvel Empire) : Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, sous la direction de M. Pierre Jouquet.—Tome LXIII. By MARCELLE BAUD, élève diplômée de l'école du Louvre. Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1935. Pp. viii+264, with 33 plates (some coloured) and 122 figures in the text.

This work consists mainly of a full and minute description of all the unfinished paintings and reliefs to be found in the private tombs at Thebes. Only unfinished works are treated, but full references are given to other publications of the tombs concerned. The tombs are listed in chronological order besides being classified in various ways, and as a work of reference the book is admirably arranged. The illustrations, both figures in the text and plates, are very numerous and of the finest quality, photography being used in a few cases, but, as a rule, the most useful and elaborate copies.

This description is accompanied by an attempt to analyse, from the various stages in which unfinished work is found, the successive processes in preparing a tomb for use, especially as concerns its decorations and inscriptions. The authoress is inclined to be a little long-winded at times. For instance, her speculations on the general course of the training and career of an apprentice-scribe could have been spared, based as it is more on the general course of apprenticeship in most trades amongst most peoples, than on the direct evidence before her. The discussion, however, of the general canons of Egyptian drawing and composition (the latter chiefly remarkable by their absence) is illuminating, with its emphasis on the purely utilitarian character of these tomb-paintings and on the resemblance in principle between their construction and that of an engineer's working drawings rather than that of an artist's pictures. But the instructive value of this section of the book is not altogether enhanced by the somewhat self-conscious introduction of a number of references to Monge's 'géométrie descriptive.' The authoress indeed admits (p. 6) that 'nous ne pouvons pas imaginer qu'ils aient connu les lois strictes de la géométrie descriptive,' but she is at pains to give an account of the methods of Egyptian draughtsmen in terms of this science. As a matter of fact, all her talk about projections on different planes boils down to little more than this, that the Egyptians retained and formalized the ordinary tendency of children

and savages not to be too clear about the point of view from which a drawing is supposed to be made; to draw each part of an object from the point of view that comes easiest for that part; and to draw all that is known to be there, even if it cannot be seen from any one aspect. This is not the application of the laws of descriptive geometry, but the failure to apply (because they are not grasped) the laws of perspective. Mlle. Baud is doubtless right in attributing the persistence of this primitive method among such a developed people to the fact that it served, better than any one perspective view, their purpose of giving a clear idea of the structure of an object depicted. While the modern fondness of non-mathematicians for explaining the simplest process in the most complicated and technical mathematical terms available somewhat disfigures, it does not really impair, her careful analysis of the way in which various hieroglyphics and standard figures are composed of bits seen from different aspects, and fitted together like an exercise in head-body-and-legs.

With regard to the section entitled 'Éclairage' (pp. 38 ff.), it might be mentioned here that the late Professor F. Ll. Griffith carried out some years ago at Oxford a very interesting experiment in this matter of lighting. He found that an ordinary ancient Egyptian saucer-lamp with a wick floating in crude castor oil gave a brilliant light. He also discovered that if salt were added to the oil the flame emitted no smoke whatever. A few of these lamps would have given sufficient light for an artist to be able to draw and paint without difficulty in the darkest tomb-chamber! ¹

There is no question about the value of Mlle. Baud's book taken as a whole. It should be read by all who profess to take an interest in Egyptian art. By anyone writing on the subject it will have to be not only carefully read but thoroughly digested.

PATRICK DU VAL.

Service des antiquités de l'Égypte: Mission archéologique de Nubie 1929-1934: Aniba. Von GEORG STEINDORFF. Zweiter Band mit Beiträgen von D. MARCKS, H. SCHLEIF und W. WOLF. Druck von J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1937. Two Vols. Vol. I, text, pp. viii+260 with one coloured plate and many figs. Vol. II, pp. xii+Taf. 104+Bl. 45. P.T. 600.

In these two fine volumes Professor Steindorff and his colleagues record not only the results of their own comparatively recent excavations at Aniba, but those of the Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in 1912 and of the Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania in 1910. That Professor Steindorff was able to publish here the important material and information obtained by the last-named

1. This information was supplied by Professor A. M. Blackman.

expedition is due to the courtesy of Dr. Randall-MacIver, Sir Leonard Woolley, and the Curator of the Egyptian Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.

The fortress-town of Aniba must have been a place of importance from the time of its foundation in the Sixth Dynasty, but during the New Kingdom, when it was the capital of Lower Nubia, it was also a town of considerable size, its walls, at this period of its greatest expansion, enclosing an area of 80,000 square metres. As the level ground on which the town stood offers no strategic advantages, Schleif suggests (p. 1) that the heights of Ibrim on the opposite (east) bank of the river provided the necessary observation- and signalling-posts. But it must be borne in mind that the Egyptians during their occupation of Lower Nubia had complete command of the Nile, and so regarded towns like Aniba as only open to assault from the land. What they required, therefore, were fortified stopping-places for their ships and safe storage for the local revenues received in kind, not castles dominating long reaches of the river, perched on lofty eminences high above its waters.

Schleif's plans and reconstructions of the Old-, Middle- and New-Kingdom fortifications are clearly based on a careful study of the existing remains, and they are both interesting and convincing. The Old-Kingdom town, despite its—for the period—rather surprisingly elaborate defences, seems to have been captured and burnt at some time or other during the First Intermediate Period. But Middle-Kingdom Aniba, with its buttressed walls and towers rising behind bastioned ditches, was a fortress of such strength that it remained in Egyptian occupation all through the Hyksos period, to be again reconstructed and greatly enlarged during the Imperial Age. Of the buildings that once covered the space enclosed by the town-walls nothing whatever is left standing save the scanty remains of one house of apparently New-Kingdom date (p. 19; Bl. 8, Abb. 6).

The site of a temple was indicated by the presence of many limestone blocks and chips (pp. 20 ff.). Remains of inscriptions on some of the former suggest that Tuthmosis I or III was the founder of this temple, which was dedicated to Horus of Miam, and that Amenophis III was responsible for certain additions. It apparently remained intact and in use anyhow till the end of the Ramesside Period. From the rubbish covering the temple-area was retrieved a number of objects forming part of temple foundation-deposits (p. 29, Taf. 14). These comprise numerous small pottery vessels of various shapes, and pottery models of brick-moulds, hoes, mallets, nails, a knife, baskets, a sieve and a plasterer's float.

Of the door-jambs from private houses (p. 28), inscribed with good wishes for master and visitors, the most interesting is that numbered 61 (Taf. 13). I would emend and render line 2 as follows: *'k:k r pr <pn> ptr< k> tw m W:st hntš . . .*, 'When you enter this house may you see (*i.e.* imagine) yourself in Thebes; may [you?] rejoice. . . .' In another of these jamb-inscriptions occurs the word *grgt*, a fem. variant of *grg*

'furniture,' which has not hitherto been noted in any hieroglyphic or hieratic text, and from which, as pointed out in a foot-note, the Coptic word Ⲫⲣⲏⲥⲉ 'dowry' must be derived.

An introductory section (pp. 36-42), presumably by Professor Steindorff, containing much archaeological and historical information, precedes Herr Marck's detailed descriptions of the tombs and their contents. These, together with the really admirable photographs and the plans and reconstructions of the tomb-superstructures, give one almost all the information for which one could wish.

The inscriptions found in the cemetery are of little importance, though they have supplied us with three hitherto unrecorded personal names (pp. 61, 63 and 70), and also with the causative of the verb *bw* (p. 58), which is not entered in the Berlin *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. In the inscription dating from the Nineteenth Dynasty (p. 238) which contains this verb *sbw*, occurs the word *wstyw*, meaning either 'citizens' or 'Thebans.' It had not so far been found with the former meaning before Ptolemaic times, nor with the latter meaning before the Twenty-second Dynasty (see *Wörterbuch*, I, 260).

Archaeologists will find plenty to interest them in the sections which describe and discuss the wooden and pottery coffins, funerary masks, scarabs, heart-scarabs, shawabti-figures, amulets, beads and burial-equipment in general (pp. 74 ff.). Many of the rings, C7-30 (p. 112, Taf. 58), may well be hair-rings rather than ear-rings. It would surely have been difficult, if not impossible, to force some of them over the lobes of any adult human ears.

Could not the section dealing with the beads have been supplied with a list in which the designation of each type of bead—A, B, C, etc.—is followed by an enumeration of the graves in which it occurs? This system would have made it so much easier for an investigator to ascertain the period or periods to which a particular type of bead belongs. The treatment of the pottery is not altogether adequate. In addition to the photographs, excellent though they are, there should have been a corpus of all the Aniba pottery in the form of plates of outline drawings clearly defining the various types of vessels and their subdivisions. As treated in this publication the pottery-types are not sufficiently differentiated. For example, the entry on p. 155 under S4, 2—'Vier Schalen Form 8a'—is much too vague, seeing that 'Form 8a' designates seven vessels of different shapes and sizes. However, emphasis must not be laid on what are but minor defects in two large volumes full of valuable material which is well set forth and superbly illustrated.

In conclusion, be it said that his colleagues have good cause to be grateful to Professor Steindorff for supplying them with a description of the famous tomb of Pennut (pp. 242 ff.) and with Herr Friedrich Koch's fine photographs (Taf. 101 ff.) of the reliefs which decorate its walls, photographs fortunately taken just a few years before the reliefs were seriously damaged by a most disgraceful act of vandalism.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

Government of Palestine Department of Antiquities: A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum. By ALAN ROWE. Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1936. £1, 5s.

Despite the limitations seemingly imposed by its title, Mr. Alan Rowe's *Catalogue* will henceforth be indispensable to anyone who desires to learn or to write about scarabs, whether found in Egypt or elsewhere. All the objects listed in this volume, including 914 scarabs of various dates, are described and discussed with great care and in great detail. The discussions are often most suggestive, while the numerous references to the works of other authorities add greatly to the usefulness of the book as a source of information (see e.g. pp. 111, 473; 128, 538; 136 f., 571; 241, S. 22).

The historian will observe with interest the number of royal scarabs of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties discovered in Palestine. Even one of King *Wꜥꜥꜥ* (Tutimaïos), possibly the last native ruler before the Hyksos conquest, was unearthed at Gezer! (p. 30). Do these scarabs merely indicate the continuance during that period of normal trade-relations, or do they denote a survival of the Egyptian domination established in Palestine by the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty?

One of the most instructive and important portions of the book is the 'Brief Chronology of Ægypto-Canaanite Contacts' (pp. xiii, ff.), a compilation in which is recorded and briefly discussed every datable Egyptian object other than scarabs that has been found in Palestine, and which should be of the greatest use to anyone requiring information on Egyptian connections with that country. It forms a valuable supplement to T. E. Peet's *Egypt and the Old Testament*, containing, as it does, much material not found or still unrecorded when the above-mentioned work was published.

The photographs of the scarabs and other objects are excellently reproduced, and Pls. XXXII-XXXV with the accompanying pages of text ('Scarab Classification') will be much consulted by archaeologists when in doubt about the date of a scarab, scaraboid or seal. As welcome as the photographs of the axe-head of an Old-Kingdom royal boat-crew (Pl. XXXVI) and of the grey granite altar-stand bearing the name of Achoris (Pl. XXXVIII) are the comments thereon: *Addendum A* and *Addendum D*.

By the way, Mr. Rowe is not correct in saying (*Additional Corrigenda and Addenda*, a and b) that 'Moses is of course *Mésés*.' Moses, Moyses, are the Latin forms of *Μωϋσῆς*, the Greek rendering of the Hebrew *Môsheh*. This represents not *mss* but *ms(w)*, the 3rd pers. sing. masc. of the Old Perfective of the verb *msl*, 'bear,' 'give birth to.' *Ms(w)* often occurs as the second constituent in compound names such as *Dhwtym*s, Tuthmosis, which means, not, as Mr. Rowe asserts, 'Thoth-

has-given-birth,' but 'Thoth-has-been-(re)born'¹ (see A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 430; and *Supplement*, pp. 4, 75).

Among the references to the place-name *Šnwt* and to the god *Hr-imy-šnwt* (pp. 136 f.) should be included H. Kees, *Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Spr.*, 64 pp., 107 ff., and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the Brit. Mus.*, III, p. 113, n. 1.

To the *Corrigenda* on p. xi add: P. xiii, l. 26, read 'nearby' for 'nearly.' P. 284, l. 28, insert 'to' before 'the throne.'

Readers will find the map (frontispiece) showing the provenances of the catalogued objects very helpful and will be grateful that the book has been so fully indexed.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt: First and Second Years, 1928, 1929: Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture. By GUY BRUNTON, O.B.E., with a chapter by Dr. G. M. MORANT. London, Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 1937. £2, 10s.

This volume contains a detailed and most carefully planned record of the researches carried out by Mr. Brunton, during the seasons 1927-28 and 1928-29, in the district between Khawaled and Deir Tasa, where the sites excavated have produced material of all periods from the Tasian and Badarian to the Graeco-Roman and Coptic.

Perhaps the most important chapters in the book are those dealing with the Tasian graves and settlements, and particularly Chapter V, the 'Summary of Tasian Culture.' Here the author shows that the Tasians differed from the Badarians physically as well as culturally, these differences being evident in the skulls of the Tasians, in their pottery, their employment of alabaster and limestone instead of slate in the manufacture of palettes, and in their use of polished stone axes or celts. It must be confessed that the pottery, apart from the incised beakers, is not particularly pleasing, consisting as it does of 'a monotonous succession of bowls.' The Tasians cultivated barley and emmer wheat, practised weaving or acquired cloth by trade, and seem to have had, like the Zulus, a great fancy for coverings and rugs of dressed hides. They were far less advanced than the Badarians in the making of their beads, which, though some are of bone or ivory, consist mainly of pierced shells. Brunton is clearly correct in concluding that the Tasians are representatives of a Predynastic Middle-Egyptian culture that is earlier than the Badarian.

Among the many interesting finds of the Badarian period are the solid clay forms, perhaps used in the making of leather vessels, the BR bowls with patterns burnished on their polished black interior surfaces (p. 48), the remarkable pot with a spout (Pl. XVIII, MS34), the dippers

1. *I.e.* in the person of the child.

(p. 49), and the amulet in the shape of the forepart of a hippopotamus (p. 51). The 'Summary of the Badarian Period' (pp. 43 ff.) must be studied with great care by archaeologists, for it is a valuable supplement to Brunton's great work, *Badarian Civilization*.

Chapter XX (pp. 103 ff.) contains much useful information on the pottery, amulets, seals, tools, weapons and other objects found in tombs dating from the Fourth to the Eleventh Dynasty. Here the author also expresses the view that the increasing use of wooden coffins from the Fifth Dynasty onwards is an indication of the growing prosperity of the country, or at any rate of this locality; that the character of the hair still preserved on a number of bodies suggests that the fair strain noticeable in Egyptians of the Fourth Dynasty was gradually dying out (p. 105); and that the beards observed on ten bodies and the moustaches on three, almost all early burials, would agree with the fact that moustaches are shown on painted statues of the Third and Fourth Dynasties but not on later ones. With what is said about the small number of mirrors that were found cf. A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 8, 5.

Well worthy of notice is the vase of black pottery, with incised designs filled in with white, in the shape of a basket with conical lid (pp. 105 f., Pl. LIX, 4). It can be dated with certainty to the Sixth Dynasty and is probably of southern origin. One wonders whether the strings of beads and shells encircling the waist of a young female in a Ninth to Tenth Dynasty tomb (pp. 101 f.) may not be of magical significance, like the bead ornaments worn by modern Egyptian women at a zâr?

The mild criticism (p. 104) of Reisner's system of dating graves mainly by the tomb-type or by cemetery grouping is most reasonable, for attitude of body, pottery, seal-amulets, beads and other objects must also be taken into consideration. In his remarks on the two silver torques (p. 129) Brunton has omitted to mention the possible fragment of one found at Buhen (MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, Pl. 91).

A discovery of no small importance is the axe-head inscribed with the royal name *Nb-m's't-r'* (pp. 127, 131), for it should enable archaeologists to date the period of the 'Pan-grave' people with more exactitude than has hitherto been possible.

It is a pleasure to observe that the Graeco-Roman and Coptic pottery has been treated with as much consideration as that of the various dynastic periods. If only earlier excavators had been as scientifically minded and unprejudiced we should have been in a position to date this quite important material with a greater degree of accuracy than is at present possible.

The clear and methodical manner in which Mr. Brunton has worked up the results of his excavations and laid them before his readers is admirable and makes the volume a model publication. The photographic and line plates are of really good quality, and the objects which they display well arranged—not, as is frequently the case in books of this

kind, set too close together. The text is well indexed, and for that the reader will be truly grateful.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire : Nos. 48274-48575 : Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi. By PERCY E. NEWBERRY. Fasc. II, pp. 305-406. Cairo, 1937. P.T. 55.

This second part of Professor Newberry's catalogue of the funerary statuettes and model sarcophagi in the Cairo Museum is very welcome, and it is to be hoped that the appearance of the remaining parts, including the indices, will not long be delayed. Though the publication, even when completed, may not supply philologists with much material of value apart from some new or rare personal names, titles and place-names, it will certainly be of great assistance to an Egyptologist engaged in writing a book on the origin and uses of *shawabty*-figures. This is a much-needed book, by the way, but one for which no suitably equipped scholar seems ready at the present time to assume responsibility!

In the volume with which we are here concerned there is little of interest in the way of inscriptions apart from those on No. 48406, the funerary statuette of Ptahmōse, Nos. 48404, 48412, model sarcophagi, and No. 48483, a model sarcophagus containing a funerary bed on which lies a figure of the deceased *R'(y)* with his *bai* beside him, its hands resting on the mummy's breast. On the sarcophagus are to be found a number of texts, many of which are unfortunately very corrupt, as can be seen, for example, from certain parallels cited in Rusch's *Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut*, p. 34. The bed is inscribed with a version (also corrupt) of Chapter 89 of the *Book of the Dead*. The position of this particular text is very appropriate, both in view of its content and of the fact that the accompanying vignette in illustrated manuscripts (see Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, I, Pl. CI; Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, Translation, p. 148) depicts the same scene as that represented by this model, the *bai* visiting the mummy lying on a bier.

Probably the most unusual of the funerary statuettes here discussed by Professor Newberry is the double one of *Mny* and his wife *Hnwt-'Iwn* (No. 48407), which dates from the Nineteenth Dynasty. In addition to the usual Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*, which is inscribed on both figures, the plinth at the back bears two *hṯp-dī-nsw* formulae, the one mentioning Anubis and the other Osiris. In the former it is requested that the ghost (*šḥt*)¹ may be permitted to 'come forth to view the sun's orb (*itn*) and to smell the sweet breath of the north wind.' The figures

1. Since the other formula is evidently intended for *Hnwt-'Iwn*, one would expect the masc. form *šḥ* here, though in neither instance is the blank space left for the name filled in.

are remarkable for the fine modelling and detail, 'even the nails on the fingers being indicated' (p. 346).

It is a matter for regret that no plates accompany the portion of the catalogue here published, the value of which is, for the time being, considerably diminished by their absence. No doubt this defect will shortly be remedied with the appearance of the third part.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

Service des antiquités de l'Égypte : Catalogue général des antiquités du Musée du Caire : Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten.

By LUDWIG BORCHARDT. Teil 5. Nachweise. By AKSEL VOLTEN. Berlin, 1936. P.T. 140.

This volume, the work of a Danish Egyptologist, contains the indices to Borchardt's four-volume catalogue of the 1294 statues of royal and private persons housed in the Cairo Museum. The work is divided into two parts, A and B, A consisting of six, and B of four indices. A 1 co-ordinates the numbering of the new catalogue with that of the Museum Journal and of older official catalogues, and with the numerous references to previous works in which certain of the statues were first published. A 2 to 6 deal respectively with materials, provenances, attitudes and head-dresses, ornaments, insignia, etc. In B 1 are listed all the personal names found on the statues, both royal and private, while B 2, 3 and 4 are similar enumerations of titles, names of divinities, and geographical and topographical names.

For the great care which he has clearly exercised in the carrying out of this necessary but laborious undertaking Hr. Volten deserves the thanks of all his colleagues.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte : Le Martyre d'Apa Epima. By TOGO MINA (Conservateur-Adjoint du Musée Copte du Caire). Pp. xxxii + 128, pls. 2. Cairo, Imprimerie Nationale, Boulaq, 1937. P.T. 72.

All who are interested in the history and literature of the Coptic Church will be grateful to Mr. Togo Mina for publishing this Saïdic version of the *Martyrdom of Saint Epima*. The Coptic text and very readable French translation are preceded by a useful introduction in which Mr. Mina, after adequately describing the manuscript, gives us all the information he has been able to collect concerning Julius of Kbehs, the author of this and of several other 'Martyrdoms,' and then does his best to identify and locate the places of which the text makes mention. Any one who reads the story in Coptic or in French will surely come to

the conclusion that the Christian Egyptians possessed as fully as did their ancestors, and as, indeed, do their modern descendants, the gift of telling a good story. The *Martyrdom of Saint Epima* was doubtless written primarily for edification, but one cannot avoid the suspicion that it was also intended to entertain. In fact one feels that it and other similar compositions still extant must have been as popular with the Copts as are the recitations of the professional story-teller with modern Egyptian village-folk, or as were, no doubt, tales like *King Cheops and the Magician*, the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, the *Two Brothers*, the *Doomed Prince*, or the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, with the Egyptians of Pharaonic times.

The remarks on p. xii about ὑπομνήματα are not altogether correct, for, according to Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, the word bears among other meanings those of 'memorials,' 'memoranda,' 'notes,' and 'minutes (of the proceedings of a public body).' Ὑπομνηματογράφος, moreover, means not only 'one who writes memoirs' but 'one who writes minutes,' or 'records.' Julius, therefore, does *not* employ ὑπόμνημα inaccurately (p. xii, n. 2), but in each instance the word should be rendered 'memorials,' 'records.' Mr. Mina is probably right in translating εἰρενήλαςσε ἄμμοου (p. 3, 22) 'pour qu'on en prit copie,' for πλάσσειν, apart from 'mould,' 'form,' 'shape,' can also mean 'fabricate,' 'forge.'

With κομestikos=δομestikos cf. kombîl=tombîl='automobile' in fellâhi Egyptian Arabic (Fayyûm). On p. 28, 2, should not ἐπὶνῆμα be emended ἁπλῆνῆμα (cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 270^a, 1. 12) ?

A valuable contribution to the book is the article in the appendix entitled 'Le Samedi et le Dimanche dans l'Église et la Littérature Coptes,' in which Fr. Jacob Muyser sets forth the material, gathered by him from various sources, that throws light on the Coptic custom of observing both Saturday and Sunday as holy days.

I venture, after a not altogether cursory perusal of the Coptic text and some helpful correspondence with Dr. Crum, to suggest the following—in most cases small—changes in Mr. Mina's translation :—

Render, p. 2, 11, 'and that they (the temples) be paid for out of (see Crum, *op. cit.*, 684^a) the royal treasury' instead of 'qu'on dépense pour eux sur le trésor royal'; p. 2, 18, 'I will not be negligent' instead of 'je ne perdrai pas de temps'; p. 2, 19-20, 'issued the decree from the palace' instead of 'fit paraître dans le palais un décret'; p. 2, 21, 'every sort of person,' instead of 'toute personne'; p. 3, 12, 'tore open his breast' instead of 'l'atteignit au cœur' (πρωξ 'reach' takes the preposition e- after it); p. 5, 1, 'for he was far removed from all evil' instead of 'maudissant tout mal' (M. has confused **caḡny** the qualitative of **cooḡe** with **caḡoy**); p. 5, 6, 'was perfect in every precept' for 'était rempli de tout precepte'; p. 5, 12, 'he was confused' (see Crum, *op. cit.*, 597^b) instead of '(le) mit en émoi'; p. 6, 22, 'for I have need of it,' instead of 'dont j'ai besoin'; p. 7, 11, 'trying certain Christians' instead of 'écoutant quelques chrétiens'; p. 8, 13, 'he also is one of the race of Christians' instead of 'c'est encore un séditieux de la race de ch.'; p. 8, 26, 'they draw in their necks' instead of 'ont coutume de redresser leurs cous' (see Crum, *op. cit.*, 520^b); p. 9, 2, 'and to scrape

(i.e. "flay") him' instead of 'et de le tourmenter'; p. 10, 14, 'and when he fainted' (lit. 'when his heart receded from him') instead of 'lorsque son cœur (était sur le point de) s'arrêter'; p. 11, 9, 'thou wilt spread' instead of 'tu amasseras'; p. 11, 14, 'has released you' instead of 'vous a pardonnés'; p. 11, 28, 'for the people of this city know him' (same meaning of **ἴδον**, pp. 16, 25; 29, 9; 33, 8) instead of 'sinon, les habitants de cette ville —(qui) le connaissent'; p. 13, 16-17, 'that there may be no trouble in them' instead of 'durant lesquels ne doit arriver aucun trouble'; p. 14, 4-5, 'the mind of the man righted itself' (see also p. 25, 8, and Crum, *op. cit.*, 338^b) instead of 'le cœur de l'homme se réconforta'; p. 16, 23-17, 2, 'for this night in a dream I was commanded to do this by an angel of God' instead of 'car cette nuit un ange de Dieu m'est apparu et m'a ordonné de la faire'; p. 17, 15, 'carrying her upon a chair' instead of 'portée sur un throne'; p. 17, 25, 'her flesh bloomed' instead of 'sa chair brilla'; p. 18, 1-2, 'my Lord Jesus shall make complete all thy service for to minister to his saints' instead of 'c'est mon Seigneur J. qui (désormais) accomplira (?) tous les services que tu rendais à ses saints'; p. 18, 27, 'was firmly set (i.e. relied) upon him' instead of 'se réconforta'; p. 19, 9, 'he has bewitched' instead of 'il ensorcelle' (**πρωτοῦ** must be inserted after **τηροῦ** or **ἡταῦ** emended to **ἡταῦ**); p. 19, 27, 'until the ribs (?)¹ within him were revealed' instead of 'jusqu'à ce que sa flamme intérieure s'éteignit'; p. 21, 3-4, 'raised a clamour over him' instead of 'lui firent une ovation'; p. 22, 10, 'clave to his mouth' instead of 'restait collée dans sa bouche'; p. 22, 21, 'his tongue straightened, stretched, out' instead of 'sa langue fut déliée'; p. 24, 24, 'praying to him' instead of 'prieux pour lui' (same use with **ωυ**, p. 25, 1); p. 26, 13, 'worthy of being summoned into thy holy city' instead of 'dignes de pénétrer dans...' (emend **εἰσῆλθε** to **ῥῆσῆλθε**); p. 28, 28, 'has released you' instead of 'vous a pardonnés'; p. 29, 5, 'their voice prevailed, for they raised a clamour' instead of 'leur voix s'enfla tandis qu'ils poussaient des clameurs'; p. 31, 7, 'on the tribunal' (see Crum, *op. cit.*, 679^b) instead of 'devant la tribunal'; p. 31, 13, 'they were tried publicly' instead of 'ils furent entendus publiquement'; p. 31, 14, 'but others they took with them, they being put aboard the ship' instead of 'tandis que les autres, ils les firent monter avec eux sur le bateau'; p. 31, 26, 'perhaps thou art ashamed' (see Stern, *Kopt. Gram.*, § 527) instead of 'si tu as honte'; p. 31, 26-7, 'behold, therefore (οὐν), there are no (**μεν=μῆ**) crowds' instead of 'voici, certes (μέν), qu'il n'y a personne'; p. 32, 14, 'for it is his sorceries that hold us back' instead of 'sinon, ses sorcelleries nous retiendront'; p. 35, 17, 'but God is witness' instead of '(devant) Dieu qui est le témoin'; p. 35, 23, 'and they have not questioned me at all concerning this matter' instead of 'ils ne m'ont jamais demandé (de sacrifier).'

P. 27, 2. Perhaps we should translate 'he being fastened to the stern of it with a lance' rather than 'tandis qu'une pointe de lance était fixée derrière lui.' P. 364. 'He left . . . the prisons and gaols shut up' and not 'laissant . . . les prisons et maisons d'arrêt encombrées (de prisonniers)' is probably the correct rendering.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

1. See Crum, *op. cit.*, 659^b, ll. 5 f.

Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Nos. 1295-1808: Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser der Statuen). Von LUDWIG BORCHARDT. Teil I, pp. 244, pls. 52. Berlin, Reichsdruckerei, 1937. P.T. 320.

This volume is mainly concerned with offering-niche slabs and stelae and 'false doors' dating from the Third to the Sixth Dynasty, the different forms of which are well illustrated in the accompanying photographic plates. Apart from such useful archaeological information, the book supplies the reader with photographs and Dr. Borchardt's own copies (reproduced in type) of a few well-known texts, with a fine collection of personal names and official titles, and with material for a systematic study of the offering-formulae and other funerary prayers in use during the Old Kingdom.

It is to be regretted that when a text here reproduced has already been published by Sethe in *Urkunden*, I, the fact is not regularly recorded. Such notification is given in the case of 1432, but not in the case of either 1431 (inscriptions of *D'w*), 1435 (inscription of *Uni*), or 1482 (inscriptions of *Shmt-n-nh*). Here it should, perhaps, be pointed out that Borchardt's corrections of the text of the *Inscription of Uni* as published by Erman (*ÄZ* 20, 30 ff.) are occasionally inferior to those of Sethe; see especially ll. 3, 5 and 7, where *hry-hbt smsw*, *ht-wrt* and '*pr(w) w'is*', Sethe's readings, are almost certainly the right ones.

The printed version of one of the signs employed in the writing of the name *D'w* (1431) is not really satisfactory. The hieroglyph in question is merely the early form of the lopped-tree sign, as is quite clear in the photographs (Pl. 24). It is interesting to observe that in the writing of a title of *Efi* (1359), *hm-ntr m Nhn-R'*, we have yet another example of the *masṭabah*-like construction in Sahurē's jubilee-temple without the obelisk surmounting it (Sethe, *ÄZ* 53, 55), and that already in the Fifth Dynasty the sign for *nhn* can be oval instead of circular (Sethe, *op. cit.*, 57). But is the printed form of this sign correct? One would anyhow expect it to contain not the horizontal *s* but the two short diagonal strokes. Worthy of notice, too, are the spelling *dsy* for *dsr* in an inscription on a Fifth (?)-Dynasty offering-table (1366), and the strange writing of *smṣ-tṣ* in 1403 (not recorded in *Wb.* III, 448). Among the titles not included in Dr. Margaret Murray's useful *Index* are *shd mrt* (1398) and *imy-r hm(w)-ntr Skr-n-Mṣ-ty* (1403). For *Mṣ-ty* as the designation of the two barks of Sokar see H. Kees, *ÄZ* 57, 109, n. 2.

An object of unusual interest is the offering-slab (1330, Pl. 5) on which, beside various articles of food, is carved a tank with sloping sides cut into four terraces. At each of the four corners of the top (fourth) terrace is engraved the word *nht* 'sycomore tree.' The third, second and first terrace bear respectively the names of the three seasons, *hnt*, *prr* and *šmw*, followed by signs which apparently denote the depth of the water

appropriate to the season in question. For the kind of tank the sculptor had in mind see Schäfer, *Von ägyptische Kunst*, 1930, p. 173.

Most of the collotype plates are of excellent quality, but may one be permitted to say that an important monument like 1482 is worthy of a better photograph than that reproduced on Pl. 29, for it is practically impossible to read the inscriptions even with the aid of a magnifying glass?

A. M. BLACKMAN.

Cornish Crosses, Christian and Pagan. By T. F. G. DEXTER and HENRY DEXTER. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. i-xxx, 1-301; Text Illustrations 1-190+33. 21s.

This book, profusely illustrated with excellent line drawings, was written with the intent to dispel the orthodox view that the Crosses of Cornwall and the ornament upon them are in origin entirely Christian. It shows an unnecessary and almost injudicious zeal, for few would now dispute the late Dr. Dexter's contention that there is much in the Crosses that is derived from pagan pre-Christian sources, and the book would be more convincing if it had been written with less fervour, and showed more discrimination in the pagan sources drawn upon.

As an example of a mixture of sources that does not convince we may instance Lanivet. We are told on p. 64 that the feast of Lanivet is pagan in origin, for there is no doubt that it was originally held on the last Thursday in April, and Thursday in pagan times was a holy day, Thor's day. Well and good. But at the same time (p. 65) it is suggested that the incised image on the Lanivet cross is the god Hu, a Welsh Sun-god but of Egyptian origin! Either suggestion might be sound but together they do not convince.

And when the unsophisticated reader learns first on p. 25 that 'there is no doubt (the authors forget that others may doubt where they do not) that the cross with four equal arms was at first a Fire-symbol and afterwards a Solar emblem,' and then on p. 189 that 'the cross was in pre-Christian and perhaps in pre-historic times a phallic emblem and the symbol of life,' he begins perhaps to wonder whether in many cases the cross was more than a simple and easy piece of decoration.

J. P. DROOP.

Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian. By SHERMAN LE ROY WALLACE. Princeton: Princeton University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Pp. i-ix, 1-512. 25s.

Mr. Wallace is to be congratulated on a very able book. The subject is highly complicated—far too much so to allow of the author's conclusions being summarised in a review—and the evidence is literally fragmentary, consisting mostly of references hardly ever complete on

ostraka and papyrus fragments ; yet he has presented us with a readable and intelligible account of the manner in which during the first three centuries of our era the resources of Egypt were exploited not on the whole unconscionably by its Roman masters. And the book is free from dogmatism. Where the evidence is insufficient we are frequently told so, and full reasons are put forward in support of any interpretation that may be thought doubtful. Though the subject sounds dry a good deal of human interest is to be found in these pages ; the picture of the distracted tax collector vainly trying to guess how many piglets the farmer had killed and eaten before his visit—continued failure to guess right resulting in the property tax on pigs being changed to a capitation tax on the owners of pigs—is hardly less pleasant than that of the collectors responsible for the poll-tax unable to collect it because the overburdened peasant had adopted the desperate but effective device of running away—a state of affairs that was only remedied from the tax collector's point of view in the latter part of Trajan's reign by allowing him to make those who could pay pay a little more by the imposition of a new tax called *μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκότων*, 'an assessment for those who have fled.'

A peculiar feature for which no explanation is very obvious is the apparently unfair discrimination exercised in certain cases against women. The tax on inheritance of certain land was three times for a girl what it was for a boy. And the *ἀποστόλιον*, the fee exacted from travellers on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea ports, whereas it might be 10 drachmae for a man was ordinarily 20 drachmae for a woman, while for prostitutes it was 108 drachmae ! In the last case it looks as if there were some deterrent intention.

On the other hand men only were required to pay capitation taxes, of which the chief was the poll-tax, *λαογραφία*, exacted between the ages of 14 and 62. The amount was 40 drachmae except for certain exempt or privileged classes. The steady drain of wealth that this tax entailed is thought to have been largely responsible for the economic decline that became so severe in Egypt in the third century.

J. P. DROOP.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927-1931. Vol. III. By EINAR GJERSTAD, JOHN LINDROS, ERIK SJÖQUIST, and ALFRED WESTHOLM. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Stockholm.

This third instalment of the publication of the Swedish Expedition to Cyprus keeps up the high standard of painstaking thoroughness and profuse illustration which the former volumes have led us to expect.

The sites dealt with are Kition, a settlement begun in the late Cypriote III period and later covered by a temenos sacred to Melcarth rebuilt more than once before its destruction after Ptolemaeus' capture

of Cyprus at the beginning of the Hellenistic age; Vouni, the site of a fortified palace built shortly after 498 B.C. by a Medophil king of Marion to hold down Soli, rebuilt by an anti-Persian king after Kimon's expedition to Cyprus in 449 B.C., and destroyed soon after 390 B.C. by a Soli reconciled to Persia; Mersinaki, the site of a temenos sacred to Apollo which produced sculpture for about three hundred years from the early 5th century onwards; and Soli, in which city excavations producing sculpture were made at the sites of six temples dating between 250 B.C. and A.D. 300, and of a theatre of about A.D. 200.

The volume is completed by the publication of the sculpture from Arsos excavated in 1917 by Mr. Markides and five appendices dealing with inscriptions in the Cyprio-Minoan, Phoenician, Greek and Cypriote scripts and with remains from the ancient mines of Cyprus.

One complaint we have to make. We may not like the system of distinguishing styles by numbers, but it has its advantages and no doubt has come to stay. But it should be possible to deal with Cypriote sculpture as one whole, so that Style IIIA, for instance, may mean something to us, if we take the trouble to learn its characteristics. Here, however, we find that Style I at Vouni corresponds with Style II at Kiton, whereas Style IA of hard limestone at Soli is closest to Style V at Mersinaki.

'Certainly it was ordained as a scourge upon the pride of human wisdom, that the wisest of us should thus outwit ourselves, and eternally forego our purposes in the intemperate act of pursuing them.'

J. P. DROOP.

Jungsteinzeit-Siedlungen im Federseemoor. Part 2. By R. R. SCHMIDT. Pp. 81-187. Text Figures 38b-144; 11 Plates and 1 Plan. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Luke.

The publication of the second and third fascicules of Professor R. R. Schmidt's account of the neolithic hamlets of the Federsee mosses marks another stage in the completion of a task begun so long ago as 1919 when the Urgeschichtliches Forschungsinstitut of Tübingen started out upon a systematic geological, botanical, and archaeological exploration of the Federseemoor.

The palaeo-botanical conclusions of Herr Karl Bertsch have been published elsewhere (*B. d. Röm.-German. Komm. d. Deutschen Archaeolog. Instituts*, XVIII, 1928), while Professor Reinerth has offered some speculations on the archaeological evidence in his book, *Das Federseemoor als Siedlungsland des Vorzeitmenschen*. Augsburg, 1929), but Professor Schmidt's account in the work under review is the definitive report on the archaeological results of the investigation which he directed.

The second fascicule completes the account of the hamlet of Aichbühl, which consisted of four rows of houses facing South East on to the neolithic lake. The houses, nineteen in number, were rectangular in plan

with walls of split tree-trunks set upright and a gabled-roof. The houses were divided by a partition into a kitchen, complete with oven and fireplace, and a larger sleeping-room with its own fireplace. The floors were of clay laid on split-logs laid in the peaty soil, while outside each house lay a rectangular court strewn with boughs. One house being larger than the rest is presumed to have been that of the Chief, while the hamlet also boasted an Assembly-Room fronting on the village green. The floors and walls of several houses had been reconstructed, in some cases more than once.

Professor Schmidt distinguishes ten types of house-plan, to which he gives classical names which he proposes to justify on a future occasion. In addition he gives detailed information concerning the ground-plan, probable elevation, and methods of construction of floors, walls and gables of the various houses, while there are several attempts to reconstruct the appearance of the hamlet, or groups of houses, presented in the form of pen-drawings.

The third fascicule deals with the hamlets of Riedschachen I and II in the same general style and with the same degree of thoroughness. The publication is excellent in format, being especially lavish in illustrations of all kinds on scales which permit one to see all the necessary detail. Description of the objects associated with these hamlets is reserved for a future publication. In the meantime we can do no more than express our grateful appreciation of this magnificent publication, coupled with the hope that it will be completed in due course, on which occasion it will be more appropriate than it can be at present to assess the contribution to knowledge made by Professor Schmidt and his colleagues upon the conclusion of their most remarkable enterprise.

W. J. VARLEY.

The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents.
By GEO. WIDENGREN. Stockholm, Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule.
12s. 6d.

On a very difficult task the author, of whose wide reading and solid learning we have ample proof on almost every page, has spared no pains in an effort to present a systematic and thorough study of this subject. Although the chief value of the work lies in the collection of material and the arrangement of that collection and not in the solution of existing problems, this does not in any way detract from the importance of the study nor reflect on the learning that has been so liberally expended on it. In a book which deals with the subject of Comparative Religion it is refreshing to find that the author has made himself familiar with the original languages of the documents. Often the resemblances that exist in translations disappear on an introduction to the originals. And in the translation of the Accadian Psalms it has been most unfortunate that scholars, consciously or unconsciously, have permitted themselves

to be unduly influenced by the phraseology of, say, Luther's or the Authorised Version. From the fact that rhythm and parallelism are common to both Accadian and Hebrew Psalms no deduction can be made as to priority. Wherever man began to compose it was inevitable that sooner or later the form of his literary efforts would be accommodated to that physiological phenomenon common to all mankind—respiration. Rhythm as found in Accadian and Hebrew is essentially little different from the Anglo-Saxon principle of dividing the verse into equal time-parts.

In his use of the Hebrew sources Dr. Widengren might be criticised. He has on occasion accepted interpretations which could not bear a critical investigation. A reference to the critical apparatus in Ginsburg would have shown him that Meyer's interpretation of Ps. xxiv, 6, does not take cognisance of the possibility of a scribal omission. Even as the text stands such an interpretation shows scant acquaintance with Hebrew style. Worse still is Gressmann's translation of Exodus xxxiv, 30, which displays an ignorance of Hebrew in particular and linguistic usage in general. To substantiate the theory of the Jahve cult the author falls into the temptation of taking words, obviously used tropically, in a literal sense. Moreover he does not give due consideration to the fact that with peoples of common customs and culture and whose consciousness was addicted to pathetic fallacies similar metaphors were bound to originate.

It is a formidable task to attempt to compare non-literary with literary productions, as a work of art from its nature almost defies analysis, and valuable as this study is, the evidence produced is not sufficiently weighty to justify a departure from the views of Driver.

W. J. MARTIN.

Documents on Athenian Tribute. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. Pp. vi+135; 16 Text-Figures; 2 Plates. (For the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.) Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1937.

Professor Meritt's new book, which may be regarded as, to some extent, a sequel to the volume *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* (by himself and A. B. West, reviewed in *Liverpool Annals*, XXI, pp. 128-130), affords abundant proof that the documents relating to the tribute paid by the allies of imperial Athens can still yield fresh and important information to the expert enquirer.

In the first two of the six chapters of the present work he gives us detailed studies of the two Athenian decrees, *I.G.*² i. 65 and 66, which relate to certain aspects of the collection, handing-over, and recording of the tribute; and in the other four he deals with various topics arising from a fresh study of some of the Quota-lists. It need scarcely be added that in his careful presentation of the material, his scrupulously fair handling of disputed points, his restraint in conjectural restoration, and

his wholly admirable photographs and facsimiles he fully maintains the standard we have come to expect from him.

The two decrees are of sufficient interest to call for rather fuller notice: i.² 65, which was reconstructed from ten fragments by Adolf Wilhelm in 1909, deals, *inter alia*, with the appointment of ἑκλογεῖς ('Collectors'), and Meritt re-examines the whole contents of the stele, and puts forward several convincing restorations, especially for the last few lines, which enable him to show that these were local officials in the allied states, and that presumably there was no Athenian board bearing this name. The final passage as now restored is to the effect that heralds were to be sent from Athens to invite the allies to appoint their ἑκλογεῖς. Incidentally, M. disposes effectively of the suggestion (made by Hiller von Gaertringen in reference to *I.G.*² i. 54) that Pericles himself in addition to being στρατηγὸς was a member of a board of officials bearing the name ἑκλογεῖς, by proving that the inscription in question makes no provision for the collection of tribute, but only for an allocation from it (p. 18 f.). The second decree, i.² 66, is represented by three fragments only: to the two published pieces M. now adds a large and hitherto unedited fragment from the upper right-hand corner, which was extracted in 1926 from the later masonry in the west doorway of the Parthenon. None of these three join each other, but each preserves part of the r. margin of the stele, containing upwards of sixty lines in all, which M. restores with 57 letters to the line. The contents, unfortunately, cannot be restored with the same fullness as i.² 65, but are seen to include regulations for the methods to be followed by the ἀποδέκται in dealing with the sums brought to Athens by the allies' representatives, which, as M. points out, conform closely with certain details of procedure described by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, cc. 47, 48). Then follows a passage (ll. 17-21) enacting that the Assembly be summoned within ten days after the Dionysia to receive a statement as to which cities have paid in full, or in part, and which have defaulted. This duplicates the sense of i.² 65, ll. 11-16, but the use of the aorist tense in i.² 66 in contrast with that of the present in i.² 65 suggests that the former relates to procedure for one year only, but that the latter contained permanent regulations valid also for the future, from which M. concludes 'that i.² 66 was the earlier of the two decrees, perhaps by a year, perhaps by more.'

Two other features of i.² 66 call for attention: curiously, a blank space in the upper r. corner (presumably balanced by a corresponding one on the left) has been deliberately left uninscribed for a width of seventeen letter-spaces and a depth of thirteen lines. M. offers no explanation, but as there are no signs of anything (e.g. a bronze plaque) having been attached to cover it, it seems more than likely that it was originally painted with some appropriate scene, although it must be admitted that no decree-stele similarly ornamented has yet come to light. Since, however, there is a sculptured relief surmounting i.² 65 (cf. p. 4, Fig. 1 of M.'s book) representing an amphora and several moneybags, it would

not be surprising if the parallel document likewise was headed by a suitable illustration; and it is permissible to suggest that an infra-red photograph might confirm the existence of traces of painting of which M.'s half-tone illustration (p. 44, Fig. 8) seems to indicate the presence. The other noteworthy feature is the difference in the style of writing between the two decrees: that of i.² 65 is not only elegantly cut and widely spaced, but positively artistic in its effect, whereas i.² 66 has a larger, more crowded and altogether clumsier script (note the A with low cross-bar, the large and often asymmetric O, the lop-sided Φ, the sprawling N, the disproportionately large loop of P). By itself, this difference is merely that of two distinct hands, and would give no indication of a difference in date; but there is also a striking difference in the use of H for the aspirate (i.² 65 omits it on nine occasions, including three restorations, whilst i.² 66 always inserts it except in [ἐμερὸν] (l. 18) and ἑκαστός (l. 29). If M. is right in his proposal to date i.² 65 'at some stage in the proceedings connected with the assessment of 425 B.C.' the case for putting i.² 66 more than one year earlier seems to be strengthened by its more scrupulous insertion of the aspirate-sign. On the other hand it does not seem impossible that i.² 66 might belong to the middle 420's and that i.² 65 should be put a few years later.

In Ch. III M. develops further the conclusions to be drawn from Wade-Gery's addition of a new fragment to the right-hand face of the *Lapis primus* (*B.S.A.*, xxxiii, pp. 101 ff.), which proved to contain a summation of the first year's quota as recorded at the top of the obverse face, and not an abnormal form of heading to the seventh year's quota. W.-G. moreover had shown that the short list of names and their quota supposed to belong to year VII was in fact an overflow from year II on the obverse, and concluded that there were no quota recorded, and presumably that no tribute was collected, in year VII (448/7). There is no doubt that a year's quota is omitted, but M. shows that the missing year must have been 449/8, and that *S.E.G.*, v. 6, belongs to 448/7, followed immediately by *S.E.G.*, v. 8, in 447/6; and thereby solves the problem of the appearance in the latter of many supplementary payments in completion of the deficient sums recorded in v. 6. He thus agrees with W.-G. that the hiatus in the record is to be associated with the Peace of Kallias, which 'did indeed mark the change from League to Empire' (p. 69¹³). In Ch. IV M. offers an extremely interesting reconstruction of all the names of the allies, and the quota paid, in 448/7, and discusses the defaulting states of that year, adding some conclusions as to the proportion between total assessment and total receipts. In Ch. V he shows how the decipherment of a few more letters from the almost illegible heading of *S.E.G.*, v. 25, confirms the date of that list as 429/8, with the result that v. 28 may be dated with equal certainty to 430/29 (as suggested in his *Athenian Financial Documents* (1932), Ch. I); and in Ch. VI he succeeds in placing exactly a few small fragments from the Quota-lists which previous editors had failed to allot to their original positions. For instance, a transfer from *S.E.G.*, v. 12 to v. 11

has resulted in a convincing join, enabling an unlocated fragment (*S.E.G.*, v. 40, now lost) to be fitted also into the same context; and *S.E.G.*, v. 43, proves to have no separate existence, but to be an imperfect copy of a fragment in *S.E.G.*, v. 4, whereby a confusion whose origin dates back nearly a century is thus finally rectified.

Professor Meritt has, in fact, once again given students of the Athenian Empire a work of permanent value and an occasion for their gratitude and congratulation.

A. M. WOODWARD.